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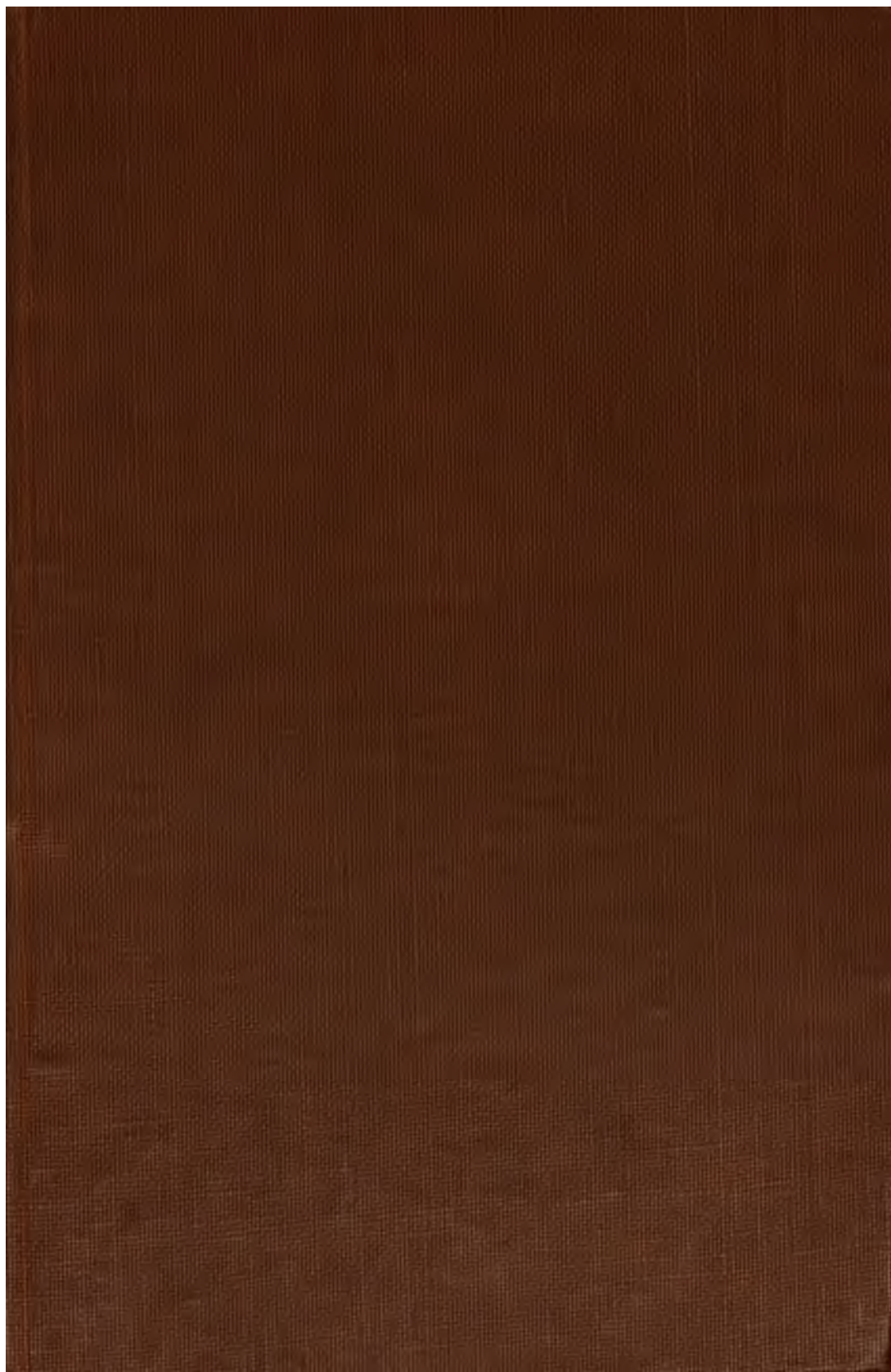
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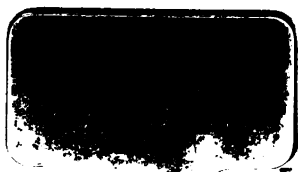
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651.



AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE
CRITICAL STUDY
OF
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
ATTEMPTED
IN AN ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS,
AND A SHORT NOTICE OF THE SOURCES, OF THE HISTORY
OF THE CHURCH.

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1838.

651.

L O N D O N :
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TO

THE REVEREND S. R. MAITLAND,

LIBRARIAN TO THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND

KEEPER OF HIS GRACE'S MANUSCRIPTS AT LAMBETH,

AS A TRIBUTE OF

RESPECT AND FRIENDSHIP,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES

ARE INSCRIBED.



PREFACE.

It can scarcely be necessary to apologize to the English public for the appearance of a single volume, on a subject which has in Germany already been treated in several works. Since the publication of the Introduction to Ecclesiastical History by Sagittarius and Schmid in the beginning of the last century, Schröckh in the first volume of his Church-history, and C. W. F. Walch, Royko, Pfrogner, Flügge, and Stäudlin, in separate works, have laboured to extend an acquaintance with this branch of knowledge, and have rendered the literary history of Church-history familiar to their countrymen. In the mean time no work of the kind has been undertaken among ourselves. The "Brief Account of the Ecclesiastical Historians," which appeared in the British Magazine between August

1837 and April 1838, was, it is believed, the first attempt to treat the subject in our own language. The present work is for the most part an expanded and systematic view of the information originally collected for that essay. And the author trusts, that a year of research and reflection has enabled him to make it more worthy of the attention of such as feel an interest in Ecclesiastical and Historical studies.

The work requires not a long preface. The Title explains its object, and the Table of Contents affords an analysis of the matter. It may be proper to remark, that it was projected, and in part executed, before the Writer had become acquainted with the works of the German scholars to whom he has referred ; and that his views, as well as the plan of his book, differ in very many important particulars from those of the continental writers. There are two other points only, on which he feels it necessary to say any thing in the way of explanation ; namely, the nature of the divisions, and the extent of the notes.

The three periods of ancient, mediæval, and mo-

dern Church-history, are each treated in a separate chapter. It may perhaps be thought that it was unnecessary to carry the principle of division any farther. But the author is deeply impressed with a conviction that the greatest mischief has been caused in all subjects of this nature by the employment of loose and artificial, instead of precise and natural divisions, and he has gladly embraced an opportunity of contributing to make the student familiar with the principal eras of Church-history. In the first two chapters he has availed himself of eras which have often been used by others. In the third chapter his subject itself suggested the divisions. The first period of modern Church-history terminates with the appearance of Mabillon in 1667 ; and the second with the conclusion of the age of Louis XIV. in 1715. The third period is probably not yet completed.

The frequent notes and copious extracts may perhaps expose the work to the charge of pedantry and ostentation. A popular view of the subject might, no doubt, have been given almost without notes ; and much space might have been saved by giving references instead of extracts. The author,

however, believes that such a course would have been far less satisfactory than that which he has adopted. It has been his object to put the junior student as much as possible in possession of the process by which he has arrived at the conclusions stated in the text; and to furnish the scholar, who may think it worth while to peruse his book, with a kind of information which he will justly regard as possessing much higher value than the private speculations of a modern writer.

It is only necessary to add, that the Fourth Chapter (on the Sources of Ecclesiastical History) appears here in very much the same form as that in which it was originally published in the *British Magazine* in June, July, and August of the present year.

Southgate Street, Gloucester,

August 2, 1838.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHURCH-HISTORY, or Ecclesiastical history, is, as the name itself implies, the history of that spiritual society founded by Jesus Christ, "in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered according to Christ's ordinance ;" and which, in conformity with the Saviour's promise, must exist till the end of the world. The name, however, has often been made to bear a much wider meaning. It has sometimes been so applied as to include God's dealings with his people under the Old Testament, as well as the New : and, in its common application, it is understood to comprehend the history of heretical and schismatical communities as well as that of the Orthodox and Catholic Church. When the idea to be expressed is thus extended, it would undoubtedly be more correct and scientific to use, as the case might require, the terms, "history of revealed Religion," and "history

of Christianity." But the name Church-history seems to have obtained a fixed and definite meaning. It has long become the common practice to describe the history of Christianity as the history of the Church.

The great importance of this branch of history is obvious. The progress of a system which, like Christianity, has exercised from its very first appearance an immense influence on the social and intellectual condition of mankind, has the strongest claims on the attention of every class of thinking men. An acquaintance with the facts of Ecclesiastical history is as indispensably necessary to the statesman and the philosopher as it is to the professional divine ; and the private Christian can never peruse its lessons without finding abundant matter for his instruction¹ and comfort. It can never be cultivated in a right spirit without greatly tending to encourage sound doctrine and holiness. Whenever it has been neglected, the consequence has uniformly been a melancholy increase of disorder and error.

The rise and progress of Church-history, and its

¹ *Cùm res Ecclesiasticas referant, et vicissitudines accedentes per tempora diversa describant, necesse est ut sensus legentium rebus celestibus semper erudiant, quando nihil ad fortuitos casus, nihil ad eorum potestates infirmas, ut Gentiles fecerunt, et arbitrio Creatoris applicare veraciter universa contendant.* Cassiodor. *Instit. Divin. Lect. cap. xvii. ap. Bibl. PP. tom. vi. col. 67. B. edit. 1575.*

condition in different periods, are therefore subjects which well deserve our notice, and are not unworthy of being treated in a separate work.

From a very early period the business of recording the fortunes of the Church has exercised the industry of the Christian writers. They felt it to be a weighty duty to hand down to posterity an account of God's dealings with His people, and to perpetuate the memory of the dangers and triumphs of the faith. Since the work was first begun, the succession of the Ecclesiastical historians has scarcely been interrupted. One writer has come forward after another with a regularity which we cannot but esteem providential: and though time has not been altogether inactive in its work of destruction, we still happily possess most of the important works which have ever been written on Ecclesiastical history. As it might have been expected, in different ages the subject has been treated with different views and on different principles; and the various writers differ exceedingly in their talents and qualifications. But nearly all have contributed something; and many of the works which possess least value as authorities, deserve to be noticed as exhibiting the progress and condition of this branch of literature.

The writers who have composed works on Ecclesiastical history have either undertaken to illustrate the whole subject, or confined themselves to particular churches, transactions, or periods. But the importance of a work is not determined by its

extent. A small treatise, or even a fragment, has sometimes possessed more intrinsic merit, and produced more important consequences, than much larger works which have been completed with all their authors' industry and skill. While, therefore, it will be my object to give the first attention to the works which have been written on the general history of the Church, I shall make it my business not to omit to notice those written on particular branches of the subject, which possess any unusual interest, or have had any considerable effect on the cultivation of Church-history.

The first and most natural division of my subject is that which is suggested by the order of time. The writers to be mentioned may conveniently be regarded as belonging respectively to the ancient, the middle, and modern periods of history. I hope to notice all the works which were composed expressly on the subject of Church-history during the two first of these periods: I shall be satisfied with noticing the more extensive, the more able, and the more influential¹ which have appeared since the Reformation. It would be below the dignity of literary history to descend to that minuteness of

¹ I should be sorry, however, to have it supposed that I disallow the merit of all the writers whom I do not mention. I would say with Quintilian, *Paucos, qui sunt eminentissimi, excerpere in animo est; facile est autem studiosis, qui sint his simillimi, judicare: ne quisquam queratur, omissos forte aliquos eorum, quos ipse valde probet.*

enumeration which is expected only in a bibliographical work. A few original writers have supplied the materials of the almost innumerable compilations which encumber the shelves of extensive libraries. The nature of my present undertaking, while it demands a complete review of the labours of the distinguished men who have written works of acknowledged importance, does not require that I should often disturb the obscurity of those more humble writers who have as frequently contributed to perpetuate ignorance, as to diffuse real knowledge.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE TIME OF THE APOSTLES TO THE COUNCIL
OF CHALCEDON.

SECTION I.

TO THE COUNCIL OF NICE, 325.

THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANS—HEGESIPPUS—JULIUS AFRICANUS—
EUSEBIUS.

I LEAVE to the Biblical critic the historical books of the sacred volume. The respect due to the inspired writings which form the canon of the New Testament, forbids my classing them with human records. I merely observe that the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apostolical Epistles, afford ample and infallible information respecting the life and death of the Saviour, and the planting of the Christian Church; and at once pass on to the legitimate objects of the present inquiry.

The genius and circumstances of primitive Christianity were alike adverse to the production of any

very early history of the Church. Dead to the world, and engaged by the active duties and exercises of their holy calling, the first Christians were little likely to be under the influence of the mixed feelings, which usually originate literary undertakings; and insecurity and persecution were little favourable to composition and study. A season of action and of suffering was no time for the pursuits of literature. All they wrote was strictly of a moral nature. In the inspired writings of the New Testament, which were gradually communicated to all the Churches, they had a sufficient account of the origin and first establishment of the faith. In the eye of Christian humility, their own labours and sufferings were scarcely worth recording. The succession of the Bishops, and the acts of the Martyrs were at all events sufficient to establish their catholicity, and enliven their Christian courage. Their brief creeds were easily retained in the memory; and their cause was pleaded before the world by the converted philosophers and advocates, who were but too happy to employ in the service of the Church the acuteness and eloquence which they had learned to practise in the schools and the forum.

The latter part of the second century, however, produced a writer who is generally considered as the first historian of the Church. HEGESIPPUS¹,

¹ Hegesippus, vicinus Apostolicorum temporum, omnes a passione Domini, usque ad suam ætatem, Ecclesiasticorum actuum texens historias, multaque ad utilitatem legentium per-

who appears to have flourished about A.D. 170¹, “recorded in five books an unsophisticated account of the apostolical preaching in a very simple style².” A few fragments³ only of his work have come down to us; and these, however interesting and valuable, throw no light on the form and method of the work to which they belonged. The chronicle of JULIUS AFRICANUS⁴ also, which was written towards the beginning of the third century, seems to have partaken of the nature of a Church-history. But it no

tinentia hinc inde congregans, quinque libros composuit sermone simplici: ut quorum vitam sectabatur, dicendi quoque exprimeret characterem. S. Hieron. de Script. Eccles. cap. 22. But Jerome seems to have known nothing of Hegesippus but what he learned from Eusebius.

¹ Fabr. Bibl. Græc. tom. v. p. 188. Lardner's Credibility, pt. ii. ch. xiv. Works, vol. ii. p. 141. ed. 1788.

² *Ἐν τούτοις ἐγνωρίζετο Ἡγήσιππος, οὗ πλείσταίς ἤδη πρότερον κεχρήμεθα φωναῖς· ὥς ἂν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ παραδόσεως τινὰ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἀποστόλους παρατιθέμενοι. ἐν πέντε δὲ οὖν συγγράμμασιν οὗτος, τὴν ἀπλανῆ παράδοσιν τοῦ Ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος ἀπλουστάτῃ συντάξει γραφῆς ὑπομνηματισάμενος. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. c. 8. p. 150. Edit. Reading.*

³ These fragments are enumerated by Cave, (Hist. Lit. an. 170) and have been collected by Grabe, (Spicil. tom. ii. p. 205—213) Gallandius, (Bibl. PP. tom. ii.) and Dr. Routh, Reliq. Sacr. tom. i.

⁴ *Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ ἄλλα τὸν ἀριθμὸν πέντε χρονολογικῶν ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς πεπονημένα σπουδάσματα. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 31. p. 295. Julius Africanus, cujus quinque de temporibus exstant volumina. S. Hieron. de Script. Eccles. cap. 63.*

longer exists entire¹; and it is not easy to detect the portions² of it which appear to have been inserted in the compilations of later annalists³.

From this period, the materials of Ecclesiastical history are abundant. Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, and several other Christian writers, throw much light on the condition of the Church in those early times. But with the exception of the two authors whom I have mentioned, no one appears to have treated the subject in a separate work. For the chronicle of Judas⁴, which we know only by name,

¹ It was read by Photius, who thus describes the author: "Εστι δὲ σύντομος μὲν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἱστορηθῆναι παραλιμπάνων. ἄρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Μωσαϊκῆς κοσμογονίας, καὶ κάτεισιν ἕως τῆς Χριστοῦ παρουσίας· ἐπιτροχάδην δὲ διαλαμβάνει καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ μεχρὶ τῆς Μακρίνου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως βασιλείας. Bibl. Cod. xxxiv. p. 9. ed. 1601.

² Cave, Hist. Lit. an. 220; Lardner's Credibility, pt. ii. ch. xxxvii. Works, vol. ii. p. 435; Galland. Bibl. PP. tom. ii. Routh, tom. ii.

³ Ex illo licet hodie deperdito multa Eusebius in suo Chronico et Syncellus, Jo. Malala, Theophanes, Cedrenus aliique Chronologi, atque in his auctor Chronici Paschalis quod Alexandrinum vulgo vocant, tum latino-barbarus scriptor excerptorum utilissimorum ex Eusebio, Africano, et aliis, quæ Scaliger edidit ad calcem Chronici Hieronymiani, p. 58 sq. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. v. 269.

⁴ Ἰούδας συγγραφέων ἕτερος, εἰς τὰς παρὰ τῷ Δανιὴλ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐβδομάδας ἐγγράφως διαλεχθεὶς, ἐπὶ τὸ δέκατον τῆς Σεβήρου βασιλείας ἴστησι τὴν χρονογραφίαν, ὃς καὶ τὴν θρυλλουμένην τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου παρουσίαν ἤδη τότε πλησιάζειν φέτο·

was most probably confined to chronology; and the Clementine Recognitions ¹ belong rather to the class of apocryphal writings which we owe for the most part to the perverse industry of the early heretics, than to authentic history.

The instances, therefore, supplied by the first three centuries can scarcely be regarded as invalidating the claim ² of EUSEBIUS of Cæsarea to be

οὕτω σφοδρῶς ἡ τοῦ καθ' ἡμῶν τότε διωγμοῦ κίνησις, τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀνετεταράχει διανοίας. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 7. p. 264. This brief notice is followed by Jerome, (de Script. Eccles. cap. 52.) and Nicephorus Callisti. Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 35. tom. i. p. 335.

¹ It may seem to be unnecessary to allude to this work at all. I do so merely because it appears to be referred to by Sozomen in the following passage of the procemium to his Eccles. Hist. "Ἄλλοι ταύτης ἐπειράθησαν μέχρι τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς χρόνων, Κλήμης τε καὶ Ἡγήσιππος, ἄνδρες σοφώτατοι, τῇ τῶν Ἀποστόλων διαδοχῇ παρακολουθήσαντες, καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς ὁ συγγραφεὺς, καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ ἐπίκλην Παμφίλου. p. 9. Upon which Valesius observes: Sozomenus hoc loco agit de his scriptoribus, qui res in exordio Ecclesiæ gestas commemorarunt, inter quos primum omnium recenset Clementem. Romanum igitur intelligit, qui libros Recognitionum scripsit, quos a Rufino translatos habemus. ad loc.

² It is thus stated by himself: 'Ἀναγκαιότατα δέ μοι πονεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἡγοῦμαι, ὅτι μηδένα πω εἰς δεῦρο τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συγγραφέων διέγωνων περὶ τοῦτο τῆς γραφῆς σπουδὴν πεποιημένον τὸ μέρος. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 1. p. 3. And Nicephorus Callisti, in his Ecclesiastical History, says of him; Πρῶτος οὗτος τῇ μετὰ χεῖρας ὑποθέσει ἐπέβαλεν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν πρῶτος ὀνομάσας τὴν βίβλον. Lib. vi. cap. 37. p. 436. We may therefore allow with Fabricius: Quanquam vero Hegeſippus,

considered as the father of Ecclesiastical history. This learned and industrious writer, who, according to the conjecture of Cave, was born in 270, and who appears to have written the work for which he is most distinguished in 324¹, was, in various ways, eminently qualified to be the historian of the early Church. His friendship with the learned and accomplished Pamphilus, his residence at Cæsarea, which possessed a library² rich in the 'works of the Christian writers; his extensive and intimate acquaintance with profane learning, an inquisitive mind, and the free access which by the favour of his sovereign he enjoyed to the public archives³ of the empire, all conspired to fit him to undertake the office which he assumed, and to discharge its duties to the advantage of mankind. The very peculia-

et Africanus, quodam modo Eusebio præiverant, Papias quoque et Justinus ac Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, aliique varia in scriptis suis annotaverant, quæ ad historiam Ecclesiæ et hæresium facerent, justum tamen Ecclesiasticæ historiæ corpus nemo ante Eusebium condidit, unde merito ait, se *πρῶτον τῇ ὑποθέσει ἐπιβῆσαι*, primum aggressum esse hoc argumentum. Bibl. Græc. vol. vi. p. 59.

¹ The common opinion is that it was written in 326, the year after the council of Nice. The most powerful advocate of the date which I have adopted is Hankius (*De Byzantinarum Rerum Scriptoribus*, pp. 101—113). The objections to the early date are capable of being answered: but the absence of every thing like allusion to the Arian controversy forms an objection to the later date which really appears insuperable.

² Eccles. Hist. lib. vi. cap. 20.

³ Appendix, Note A.

rities of his character, which led him to perform a part in active life which it is not easy to justify or excuse, tended, perhaps, to render him a more satisfactory historian. The impartiality which some have affected, and others have despised, was natural to Eusebius. He seems to have been one of those, and they are a numerous class, who can never make up their minds strongly enough on any subject to be partial. He was too amiable to be willing to compromise himself with either of the two great parties of his time. He was too much engrossed by his own pursuits, and, in fact, too little interested about the matters in dispute, boldly to take a side. Though his connections, and perhaps his inclinations, drew him towards the Arians, he appears to have been as little disposed to join them in their excesses when they were in power, as he was reluctant to persecute them when they were in adversity. His conduct only resolved the enigma of his principles; for the modern controversies¹ respecting his opinions seem merely to have determined that he did not altogether belong to the heretics or to the orthodox.

Eusebius undertook the work of recording the early fortunes of the Church, just at the time when it could not be neglected in safety. We have, probably, no great cause to regret that it was not attempted before; but we have undoubtedly great

¹ Walchii Bibliotheca Patristica, edit. Danz. p. 48.

reason to rejoice that it was delayed no longer. The conversion of Constantine at once placed Christianity in a completely new position ; and in a surprisingly short space of time, every thing relating to it was regarded with different views and feelings. Among other changes, the altered state of things led to such a rapid development of the spirit of speculation, that the Church could no longer transmit or teach the truth in the way she had done. It was now to be defended, and illustrated, and explained. It became matter of system and theory, and was discoursed of by men who, for genius, and eloquence, and learning, would well bear comparison with the brightest ornaments of classical antiquity. No one educated under these new circumstances¹ of Christianity could have been a fit historian of the early Church. But Eusebius had grown up under a different discipline. By birth and education he belonged to the third century. He had studied when there was nothing to study but what led him to antiquity. Accordingly, his learning was of an antiquarian rather than of a doctrinal character,—it was historical, not theoretical or dogmatical. His taste was formed before the passion for a scientific treatment of theology had shown itself in the Church. His pursuits and acquire-

¹ It may be added, that many of the documents which were extant at the beginning of the fourth century soon perished. They would naturally disappear when no interest was felt about them.

ments, therefore, fitted him for the work which he happily undertook, as much as his impartiality: and the way in which he executed it, has entitled him to everlasting gratitude.

We cannot be too thankful that Eusebius anticipated, by a happy instinct, the subjects which would be most interesting to posterity in the first regular work on Church-history¹. He made it his chief business to trace the succession of the bishops of the principal sees, to point out the literary exertions of the Christian writers, to describe the rise and progress of heresies, and to record the successes and persecutions of the Church². His object seems to have been twofold, namely, to show the providential nature of the triumph which the Gospel obtained over its external and internal enemies, and to vindicate its professors from the charge of illiterate ignorance. He well knew what is required of the historian. He had recourse to

¹ Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας Βιβλία δέκα. First edited with the other Greek Ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Evagrius, by Robert Stephens, Paris, 1544. But the earlier editions (Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 60, et seq.) were completely superseded by that of Henri Valois, which was first printed at Paris in 1659—1673, and with improvements in 1677. There have been four or five reprints; of which the Cambridge (Reading's) is the most convenient and most elegant. These are all in folio. More recently Eusebius has been edited in 8vo. by Stroth (Hal. 1779), Zimmermann (Francof. ad M. 1822) and Heinichen (Lips. 1827—30).

² Appendix, Note B.

the most satisfactory sources of information¹. He eagerly availed himself of private testimony, he diligently consulted public documents, and he estimated the value of his authorities of every kind with considerable sagacity and judgment. He did not forget that he was the historian of a sacred subject. He does not neglect to recognize from time to time the finger of God ordering and directing the various events of his narrative, nor to lead his readers to a devout acknowledgment of the Divine wisdom and mercy. His work is just the sort of history that was wanted. We may complain that it is sometimes too brief to satisfy a reasonable curiosity, that it is not well arranged, that it is not written in a pleasing or lucid style, that it is not altogether free from credulity and superstition; but we cannot complain that the author had not a right conception of what he had to do. Never was a work of the kind more abundant, in proportion to its size, in extracts and documents.

¹ Much has been written in Germany within the last five-and-twenty years on the value of Eusebius as a historian. The following works are enumerated by Dr. Danz in his edition of Walch's *Bibliotheca Patristica*, p. 49 :—Möller *de Fide Eusebii in rebus Christian. enarrandis*, Havn. 1813; Danz. *de Eusebio Cæsar. Hist. Eccles. Scriptore ejusque Fide historica recte æstimanda*, Jen. 1815; Kestner *Comment. de Eusebii auctoritate et fide diplomatica*, Götting. 1817; Kestner *über die Einseitigkeit und Partheilichkeit des Eusebius, als Geschichtschreiber*, Jen. 1819; Reuterdaht *de Fontibus Hist. Eccles. Eusebii*, Londini Gothor. 1826. See Appendix, Note C.

He has handed down an account of the labours¹ of writers, of whose very names we should otherwise have been ignorant². In a word, he established the early Christian history upon the most satisfactory foundation; and set an example of diligence and accuracy, which have never been surpassed, and rarely equalled by his successors³.

Before he commenced his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius published his "Chronicle," and a short time before his death, which happened in the year 340, he wrote the "Life of Constantine." These are both of them important works. The former⁴

¹ "Ὅσα τοίνυν εἰς τὴν προκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν λυσιτελήσειν ἡγούμεθα τῶν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις σποράδην μνημονευθέντων ἀναλεξάμενοι, καὶ ὡς ἂν ἐκ λογικῶν λειμῶνων τὰς ἐπιτηδείους αὐτῶν τῶν πάσαις συγγραφέων ἀκανθισάμενοι φωνᾶς, δι' ὑφηγήσεως ἱστορικῆς πειρασόμεθα σωματοποιῆσαι. Lib. i. cap. i. p. 2.

² The fragments of ancient Christian writers, which have been preserved by Eusebius, compose the most valuable part of the interesting work of Dr. Routh. A catalogue of the writers who are mentioned in the Eccles. Hist. is given by Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. vi. 63—90.

³ Appendix, Note D.

⁴ The original text of the Chronicon (Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία) has perished. But St. Jerome's translation, with the numerous fragments preserved by the Byzantine annalists, was published by Jos. Scaliger in his Thesaurus Temporum, Lugd. Bat. 1606; Amstel. 1658. See Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 33—36. Since that time the following important works have appeared:—Hieronymi de Prato Dissert. de Chronicis Libris II. ab Eusebio Cæsar. scriptis. Veron. 1750, 8vo; Eusebii Pamphili Chronicorum Canonum Libri II. Opus ex Haicano codice a Jo. Zohrabo diligenter expressum et castigatum A. Maius et Jo. Zohrabus nunc

serves to illustrate many interesting points of early Church-history; and the latter¹, though it must be regarded as a laboured panegyric rather than as a sober record of historical facts, affords several important documents and much valuable information relating to the most memorable event which has occurred in the history of Christianity; its public establishment as the religion of the Roman Empire.

primum conjunctis curis Latinitate donatum notisque illustratum additis Græcis reliquiis ediderunt. Mediolan. 1818. 4to; Eusebii Pamphili Cæsariensis Episcopi Chronicon Bipartitum nunc primum ex Armeniaco textu in Latinum conversum adnotationibus auctum Græcis fragmentis exornatum opera Jo. Bapt. Aucher. Venet. 1818. 2 vols. 4to.

¹ Εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ μακαρίου Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως λόγοι τέσσαρες,—usually appended to the Ecclesiastical History, of which it may be regarded as the supplement. Baronius happily enough compared it to the *Cyropædia*: (Constantini vitam,) quam scripsit imitatus in multis in ea potius Xenophontem; qui, ut de eo testatur Cicero, vitam Cyri non tam ad historiæ fidem conscripsit, quam ad effigiem justî principis exhibendam. *Annal.* ad an. 324. n. 5.

SECTION II.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF NICE 325, TO THE COUNCIL OF
CHALCEDON 451.

THE FATHERS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY—ST. JEROME—RUFINUS
—GELASIUS OF CÆSAREA—SULPICIUS SEVERUS—PAULUS ORO-
SIUS—PHILIP OF SIDÉ—PHILOSTORGIUS—SOCRATES—SOZOMEN
—THEODORET.

THE fourth century, in many respects the most important in the history of the Church, was more an active than a literary period. It produced in abundance the subjects of history, but afforded few who had leisure or inclination to put them on record¹. The age of the Arian controversy was rich in memorable events and illustrious men. But its worthies were most of them men of action, men who took part in the real business of life, who wrote not that they might occupy their leisure, but that they might contribute to the decision of a great question which affected the dearest interests of mankind. Their works were part of themselves—their acts, their doings. Their polemical and dogmatical writings, acute and subtile as they are, were com-

¹ The case is not by any means peculiar. Great events do not always immediately find their historian. Herodotus did not publish his work till five-and-thirty years after the battle of Salamis. And Livy did not write in the active days of Rome.

posed to meet particular emergencies, not to gratify an intellectual want. It is this peculiarity which elevates them so far above mere men of letters, and gives to their stature heroic proportions in the eyes of posterity. They were, by their position and character, the subjects rather than the writers of history¹. In the mean time their disciples and admirers were too much occupied with the study of their writings and the prosecution of the great controversy of the time, to find leisure for a strictly literary employ. This state of things prevailed till the beginning of the reign of Theodosius. From the time when Eusebius wrote his life of Constantine to the council of Constantinople, we find no account of any direct accession that was made to the history of the Church.

When the pen of history was at length resumed, it was handled for some time almost exclusively by western writers. The "Catalogue of the Ecclesiastical Writers"² which ST. JEROME³ compiled from Eusebius, and continued to his own time by notices gleaned from other quarters, is the first

¹ Several of the works of Athanasius are indeed of an historical nature, but they were all written to meet particular emergencies ; none of them were written as history.

² *Liber de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*. In the second volume of his works. (Edit. Vallarsii.) But it is also printed in the *Biblioth. Eccles. of Miræus and Fabricius*.

³ It appears from a passage in his life of Malchus, that Jerome at one time intended to write a complete history of the Church. Appendix, Note E.

work we meet with of an historical nature: and it deserves particular notice as the earliest attempt to exhibit in a separate form the literary history of the Church¹. But the writer who first continued the labours of Eusebius in a considerable work, was RUFINUS of Aquileia, so well known at one time as Jerome's intimate friend, and afterwards as his bitter adversary. Having made a Latin version of the work of Eusebius, he continued the history of the Church to the death of the elder Theodosius (392)². Both his translation and his original work are still extant³. The former, through which Eusebius was for many ages known to the west, like his other translations, is only remarkable for the liberties which he has taken with the original⁴: and the latter⁵ possesses so very little historical

¹ Appendix, Note F.

² These works were executed after his long residence of twenty-five years in Palestine, during Alaric's first invasion of Italy (400—403).

³ Walch (Bibl. Theol. iii. 116) mentions two editions of the translation, viz. Basil. 1523 and 1539; and three of the History, viz. Rom. 1470; Lugd. 1570; and Paris. 1580. But they are more carefully and correctly enumerated by Schöne-mann, *Bibliotheca Historico-Literaria Patrum Latinorum*, tom. i. 593—597.

⁴ He has reduced it into nine books; and the omissions and interpolations are numerous. *Vertit Eusebii Historiam Rufinus, sed ita ut varia passim, librumque decimum integrum prope-modum omitteret, alia adderet atque interpolaret.* Fabr. *Bibl. Græc.* vi. 59.

⁵ Appendix, Note G.

value, that it has been completely superseded by the labours of succeeding writers. But, defective as it was, the "Ecclesiastical History" of Rufinus no sooner appeared, than it was translated into Greek. The translator was Gelasius¹, bishop of Cæsarea, and nephew of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who was, we are told, a worthy man and an eloquent writer, and probably regarded such a work as peculiarly suitable for a successor of Eusebius. But the version obtained less reputation than the original. For we only become acquainted with its having existed from its being cited by Gelasius of Cyzicus², the

¹ He is briefly noticed by Jerome; Gelasius Cæsareæ Palæstinæ, post Euzoium, episcopus, accurati limatique sermonis, fertur quædam scribere, sed celare. De Script. Eccles. cap. 130. Theodoret mentions him among the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople; Γελάσιος ὁ Καισαρείας τῆς Παλαιστίνης, λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ κοσμούμενος. Eccles. Hist. lib. v. cap. 8. Opera, tom. iii. p. 1026. Edit. Schulze. He became bishop of Cæsarea, by the influence of his uncle, in 380. Cave, Hist. Lit:

² "Ὁ γε μὴν Ῥουφῖνος, ἡ γοῦν Γελάσιος. Hist. Concil. Nicæni, lib. i. cap. 7; ap. Concil. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 124, D. Photius (Bibl. Cod. lxxxix. p. 120.) tells us, that Gelasius represented himself as having been induced to undertake the work by his uncle Cyril. But this may have been intended to apply only to the introductory part of the work, the part which was really his own. There certainly was such an introduction, for Photius gives this title, Προῖμιον ἐπισκόπου Καισαρείας Παλαιστίνης εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου. Cyril may have urged his nephew to undertake an Ecclesiastical History; but unless Rufinus communicated the early part of his work to his friends in Palestine long before he gave it to the public, or even completed it, he could never

historian of the council of Nice, and from its having been read by Photius¹.

There are two other Latin writers occurring at the beginning of the fifth century, whom I must not omit to notice, though their works add little to our knowledge of the history of the Church. The "Sacred History" of SULPICIUS SEVERUS², which is a history of the Bible, continued to the year 400, written in an elegant Latinity, is important only for the account it gives of the Priscillianists; and the work of PAULUS OROSIUS³, which was written with a

have seen the labours of the Latin author. Cyril died in 386, and Rufinus certainly did not publish his Ecclesiastical History till the beginning of the next century. The story, which Photius tells us he had met with in other writers, that Cyril was associated with Gelasius in translating Rufinus, probably originated in Cyril's having incited his nephew to his historical labours.

¹ A passage from the Ecclesiastical History of Rufinus was read in Greek at the second Council of Nice (Concil. tom. viii. col. 80), but the name of the translator is not mentioned.

² Sulpicius Severus is well known as the friend and panegyrist of St. Martin of Tours. He flourished about 401. The editions of the *Historia Sacra* are very numerous. See Fabr. *Bibl. Lat. lib. iv. cap. 3.* Schöttgen's *Continuation of Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætatis*, p. 461. Walch, *Bibl. Theol. tom. iii. p. 46.* Schönemann, *Bibl. Hist. Lit. PP. Latinorum*, tom. ii. p. 372—405.

³ *Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri vii.*; written about the year 416, at the suggestion of St. Austin, to disprove the objection of the Pagans, that the troubles of the empire, particularly the taking of Rome by Alaric in 410, were to be ascribed to the prevalence of Christianity. See Appendix,

controversial object against the Pagans, partakes more of the character of civil than of ecclesiastical history.

But we are now recalled to the East. The most extensive historical work produced by any ancient Christian writer, was written in the early part of the fifth century, by PHILIP OF SIDE, a distinguished ecclesiastic of the church of Constantinople. An intimate acquaintance with the illustrious Chrysostom had led him to apply with ardour to literary pursuits. According to Socrates¹, "he wrote much, affecting the Asiatic manner." But the chief result of his learning was, the work which he intitled the "Christian History." It commenced with the creation, and was brought down, at all events, somewhat lower than the year 425, when Sisinnius was appointed to the see of Constantinople. For we learn from Socrates², that Philip whose friends had on that occasion endeavoured to raise him to the Patriarchal dignity, made his history a vehicle for reflections on the character of his successful rival, and those who had procured his elevation. It was a

Note H. The editions are enumerated by Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. *Ætatis*, tom. v. p. 515. et seq. and Schönmann, Bibl. Hist. Lit. PP. Latin. tom. ii. p. 486—503.

¹ Ζηλώσας τὸν Ἀσιανὸν τῶν λόγων χαρακτηῖρα, πολλὰ συνεγράφε. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 27. p. 376.

² Πολλὰ τῆς χειροτονίας καθήψατο ἐν τῇ πεπονημένῃ αὐτῷ Χριστιανικῇ Ἱστορίᾳ, διαβάλλων καὶ τὸν χειροτονηθέντα, καὶ τοὺς χειροτονήσαντας, καὶ πολλῶν πλέον τοὺς λαϊκοὺς. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 26.

work of prodigious length¹, divided into thirty-six books, and sub-divided into nearly a thousand sections. It was written with ostentatious learning, but it found little favour with his contemporaries or with posterity. Socrates ill conceals his disapprobation; and Photius, in whose time it seems to have already become imperfect, speaks of the style and matter with great severity². We have probably, therefore, no great reason to regret that it has long since perished³.

Though the Arian controversy was terminated in the East by the end of the fourth century, it was but natural that some of the zealous adherents of the sects which had so long distracted Christendom, should give expression to the sentiments of vexation and disappointment with which they regarded the triumph of their orthodox opponents. Among the writers whose zeal thus prevailed over their pru-

¹ Appendix, Note I.

² "Εστι πολὺχονς ταῖς λέξεσιν, οὐκ ἀστεῖος δέ, οὐδὲ ἐπίχαρις· ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκορῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀηδής· καὶ ἐπιδεικτικὸς μᾶλλον, ἢ ὠφέλιμος· καὶ παρεντιθεὶς ὡς πλεῖστα μηδὲν πρὸς τὴν ἱστορίαν συντείνοντα. ὡς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἱστορίαν εἶναι, ἢ πραγμάτων ἐτέρων τὴν πραγματείαν διάληψιν· οὕτως ἀπειροκάλως ἐκκέκνται. Bibl. Cod. xxxv. p. 9.

³ The celebrated fragment on the succession of the Alexandrine School, (first brought to light by Dodwell in his Dissert. Iren., and also printed in the ninth vol. of Galland. Bibl. PP.) is the only one which has been published. See Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 113.

dence was PHILOSTORGIUS¹, who appears to have been the first to discover the value of Ecclesiastical History as a controversial weapon, and to employ it in a regular and systematic attack on the doctrines of the Church. He was a native of Cappadocia, and was born in 368. He entertained the opinions of Eunomius, and regarded the Semi-arians with no less hostility than the friends of Athanasius. He began his work with the rise of Arianism, in the beginning of the fourth century, and brought it down to the year 425. It no longer exists entire. But the very copious extracts², which we owe to Photius, though they give us no adequate notion of what it was as a whole, nor enable us to judge for ourselves of its literary merits³, amply confirm his remark that it "is less a history than an encomium

¹ Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 114.

² 'Εκ τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστοριῶν Φιλοστοργίου ἐπιτομή, ἀπὸ φωνῆς Φωτίου πατριάρχου. It is an analysis, or rather a review of the twelve books which composed the work of Philostorgius, and was first edited by the celebrated Jurist, Jacobus Gothofredus, at Geneva, in 1642. But it is published in a much more satisfactory state by Valesius, tom. iii. p. 476. et seq.

³ The judgment of Photius is not very favourable. "Ἔστι τὴν φράσιν κομψός· καὶ ποιητικαῖς, ἀλλ' οὐ κατακόρως, οὐδ' ἀχαρίτοις λέξεσι κεχρημένος· καὶ ἡ τροπὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ἐμφατικῷ τὴν χάριν μετὰ τοῦ ἡδέως ἐφέλκεται· πλὴν ἐνίστοε παραβόλως αὐταῖς καὶ πλεῖστον ἥποτετραμέναις χρώμενος, εἰς ψυχρολογίαν καὶ ἀκαιρολογίαν ἐκπίπτει. περιβέβληται δὲ αὐτῷ ποικίλως ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἐν κόρῳ· ὥς εἰς τὸ ἀσαφές, καὶ οὐκ αἰεὶ χάριεν τὸν ἀκροατὴν ὑποσύρεσθαι. ἐν πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ οἰκείως γνωμολογεῖ. Bibl. Cod. xi.

upon the heretics, and a mere accusation and vituperation of the orthodox¹." Great, however, as are the prejudices of Philostorgius, it is highly satisfactory to have the Arian view of the great events of this period ; and the remains of his work, whatever may have been its actual merit, are of no inconsiderable value for illustrating the history of the fourth century.

The fifth century, however, was rich in Ecclesiastical historians of less exceptionable opinions. The triumph of the orthodox faith, under the reign of the great Theodosius, afforded the Church the tranquillity so propitious to literature. The controversy with the Arian sects was, as I have already remarked, completely exhausted. The errors of Apollinarius had been well nigh confined to the provinces bordering on Syria, the country in which they originated ; and for upwards of fifty years no new heresy exercised the doctors of the Eastern Church in controversial warfare. During this period exegesis was the favourite pursuit of the Christian teachers. Chrysostom exhibited its importance in the churches of Antioch and Constantinople ; while Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia²,

¹ *Ἱστορεῖ δὲ τὰναντία σχεδὸν ἅπασι τοῖς Ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἱστορικῷς. ἐξαίρει τοὺς Ἀρειανίζοντας ἅπαντας, λοιδορίαις πλύνει τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους. ὥς εἶναι τὴν ἱστορίαν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἱστορίαν μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐγκώμιον μὲν τῶν αἵρετικῶν, ψόγον δὲ γυνόν καὶ κατηγορίαν τῶν ὀρθοδόξων.* Bibl. Cod. xl.

² The naturalizing spirit of these great Oriental doctors pro-

disciples of the same school, conducted it upon principles which led to two centuries of incessant controversy. But in a literary age history was not neglected. Contemporary with Philip of Side and Philostorgius, were Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret.

SOCRATES¹ was a native of Constantinople, by profession an advocate. He had received a liberal education, and possessed in a high degree many of the qualities most necessary for the historian. We know nothing of the events of his life except what we learn from his writings. It is uncertain at what age, or under what circumstances, he turned his attention to historical inquiries. The result of his researches, however, was an "Ecclesiastical History²;" which commences with the reign of Constantine (306), and concludes with the year 439. It was composed for the use of a friend of the name of Theodore³, and was professedly written as a continuation of the work of Eusebius. The author declares that he was much less careful about his

duced Nestorianism; and Nestorianism stimulated into heresy (Eutychianism) the mystical and fanatical spirit which ever lurked in the Alexandrine school.

¹ Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 117, et seq.

² Σωκράτους Σχολαστικῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία. It is in seven books. The editions have been already noticed in note ¹. p. 15.

³ At the beginning of the sixth book he says, τὸ μὲν ἐπίταγμά σου, ὃ ἱερὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνθρώπε Θεόδωρε, ἐν πέντε τοῖς προλαβοῦσι βιβλίοις διεπονησάμεθα.

style than his matter, and assures us that his narrative was derived entirely from the testimony of written pieces, or parties concerned in the circumstances which he relates¹. He was inquisitive, diligent, and candid; and shows himself well acquainted with the right principles of historical investigation². He appears to have examined his authorities with care, and to have weighed them with judgment. His style, though unadorned, is not disagreeable: and though he felt an excessive admiration for the monastic heroes, and avows that he regarded the history of controversy as the chief object of the Ecclesiastical historian³, he never lays aside a becoming gravity, and uniformly writes with moderation and impartiality⁴.

SALAMANES HERMIAS SOZOMENUS⁵ was born in Palestine. He received his early education among

¹ Appendix, Note J.

² I need only refer to the first chapter of the second book for proof of this. In his castigation of Rufinus, he has the sympathy of all the students of history who have been misled in their early studies by careless and ignorant writers.

³ Appendix, Note K.

⁴ The moderation, and even respect, with which Socrates speaks of the Novatians, has led to an opinion that he was a member of that sect. *Ὁ τὴν προσηγορίαν, οὐ μὴν δέ γε καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν καθαρὸς Σωκράτης*. Nicephor. Callist. Eccles. Hist. lib. i. c. i. p. 35, B. But this opinion is controverted by Valesius (in vit. Socr.), and seems to be totally groundless.

⁵ Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 121, et seq.

the monks of that country, studied the law at Berytus, and at length practised as an advocate at Constantinople. Here, notwithstanding his professional engagements, he found leisure for the cultivation of Ecclesiastical history. He first composed in two books a sketch of the history of the Church before the time of Constantine: but this probably was never published, as we do not find it once alluded to by any other writer. His chief work was a continuation of Eusebius¹; which extends in nine books from 323 to 423², and is dedicated to the Emperor Theodosius the younger. He appears to have been a man of sincere and ardent piety, and he was well acquainted with the principles, both moral and literary, which should regulate the conduct of the historian³. His work abounds with important information, often confirmed by the insertion of original documents. But he was of an enthusiastic turn of mind. He was a warm admirer of the most extravagant excesses of monastic fa-

¹ Σαλαμάνου Ἐρμείου Σωζομένου Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία. For the editions see p. 15. note ¹.

² In the dedication to Theodosius he says, *πρόεισι δέ μοι ἡ γραφὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Κρίσπου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τῶν Καيسάρων τρίτης ὑπατείας, μέχρι τῆς ἑπτακαιδεκάτης τῆς σῆς*. p. 6. The seventeenth consulship of Theodosius corresponds with 439. And accordingly it has been asserted over and over again that Sozomen concludes with that year. But the fact is that his history terminates with the death of Honorius, 423.

³ Appendix, Note L.

naticism¹. He cannot, like the writer last mentioned, be praised for accuracy and judgment. He was evidently a very different man : and we are ill compensated for the plain good sense of Socrates by the greater elegance of his more rhetorical and more credulous successor².

THEODORET³ was born in 386, of noble and pious parents, at Antioch. His birth was regarded as a direct answer to prayer, and he was from his infancy devoted to a religious life. In the theological school of his native city, then at the height of its reputation, he was the attentive pupil of Chrysostom and Theodore, and distinguished himself by his proficiency in professional studies. In the year 420 he was made bishop of Cyrus, and soon became cele-

¹ I would not be misunderstood in what I say of Sozomen. I do not speak of him contemptuously. It is more pious, and more philosophical to speak of the different manifestations of religious feeling with respect than ridicule. The biographies of St. Jerome, the Dialogues of Sulpicius Severus, the Lausiac History (ap. Bibl. PP. Græco-lat. tom. ii. p. 893. et seq.) of Palladius, the biographer of Chrysostom (Vita S. Chrysost. Paris. 1680), and the Religious History of Theodoret (Opera, tom. iii. p. 1099, et seq. edit. Halæ), a man whose understanding no one can despise, are to the reflecting mind ample apologies for the most superstitious parts of Sozomen.

² Valesius, I think satisfactorily, shows that Sozomen was the later writer ; though, as will appear presently, I do not agree with him in thinking that he was acquainted with the work of Socrates.

³ Garnerii Hist. Theodoret, ap. Opera, tom. v. p. 135, et seq. edit. Halæ. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 124.

brated for his zealous discharge of the episcopal duties, and his extraordinary talents and learning. His life, indeed, like that of Eusebius, is itself part of the history of the Church. His connexion with the Nestorian controversy troubled his later days, and has been in no small degree injurious to his memory. Like so many other persons of high literary distinction, he wanted that consistency and firmness of character without which no one, however talented, can act with honour in public life. But his works have secured him an undying reputation. His exegetical writings are not exceeded in value by any thing of the kind produced by the ancient writers; and his homilies rank among the happiest efforts of Christian eloquence. His Ecclesiastical History¹ is supposed to have been written towards the year 450². It begins with the rise of Arianism³; and it is not a little to the honour of his moderation and judgment that he discontinued it when he was in danger of being no longer impartial, and made the year 427 the term of his historical labours, instead of prolonging them beyond the Council of Ephesus, and the controversy to which

¹ Τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοδορήτου ἐπισκόπου Κύρου Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας λόγοι πέντε. It is not only included in the collection of Valesius, but in the third volume of both the editions of Theodoret's works.

² Garnerii Diss. de libris Theodoreti, p. 279, ap. tom. v.

³ Or more properly when Arianism had become a matter of public interest, for he begins his history with the year 322. Appendix, Note M.

it led. It does not yield in literary merit to the labours of any of his contemporaries on the same subject. He has communicated much information, especially with respect to the East, which was omitted by Socrates and Sozomen¹; and is declared by Photius² to have excelled all his predecessors in the style suitable to historical composition.

It is natural to inquire in what relation these authors stood to each other. It is an unusual circumstance for three writers, at nearly the same time, to exercise their pens upon pretty nearly the same period of history. The common opinion is that Sozomen wrote to supply the omissions, and improve upon the style of Socrates, and that Theodoret designed his work as a supplement to the labours of the other two. This opinion, however, when examined, is found to rest entirely on con-

¹ Il fait plus exactement qu'eux l'histoire des Ariens, il décrit plusieurs particularitéz que ces deux historiens n'avoient point remarquées, et il rapporte plusieurs choses concernant l'histoire des Eglises et des Evêques du Patriarchat d'Antioche, qui seroient demeurées dans l'oubli, s'il n'en eût conservé la mémoire. Il ne paroît rien dans l'histoire de Theodoret, qu'une grande aversion contre toutes les heresies, un grand zèle pour la religion, un grand amour de l'Eglise, un grand respect pour les saints Evêques qui ont défendu la foi, et un grand estime pour tous ceux qui ont bien vécu. Du Pin, Nouvelle Bibliothèque, tom. iv. p. 94, 95.

² Πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων κατάλληλον φράσιν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μᾶλλον οὗτος ἐπέθηκε. σαφές τε γὰρ, καὶ ὑψηλός, καὶ ἀπείριστος. πλὴν ὅτι ἐνίοτε ταῖς μεταφοραῖς παραβόλως καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπειροκάλως ἐχρήσατο. Bibl. Cod. xxxi. p. 8.

jecture. There is not, as far as I can discover, any direct evidence that any one of them was acquainted with the writings of either of the others¹. There is no coincidence of arrangement or expression which may not be accounted for upon the hypothesis, (a hypothesis which is capable of ample proof,) that they often employed the same materials². They are all men of too high a character to be fairly suspected, on slight grounds, of plagiarism, or petty rivalry. No one of them, unless under the influence of the miserable ambition which actuates the literary impostor, could have avoided some mention of the work of his predecessor, had he been aware of its existence. And the almost simultaneous appearance of three such works is, I

¹ Since the above was written, I have obtained the very able essay of F. A. Holzhausen, *Commentatio de Fontibus, quibus Socrates, Sozomenus, ac Theodoretus in scribenda historia sacra usi sunt*. Gottingæ, 1825. After what he has written, it will not, I think, again be questioned that these historians wrote independently of each other. *Verissima videtur sententia Antonii Pagi* (*Critic. in Baron. ann. 427. n. xvi.*): *Omnes tres circa idem tempus scripsisse videri, postremis Theodosii junioris annis, et Socratem ac Sozomenum, quum Constantinopoli, scriptis prodidisse potissimum, quæ in ecclesia Constantinopolitana contigerunt, Theodoretum vero, utroque longe doctiorem, et in Oriente versantem, errores plurimos, in quos uterque incidit, vitasse, et in rebus orientalibus fusiorem et diligentiore fuisse, licet de Socrate et Sozomeno ne cogitaret quidem.* p. 33, 34.

² Appendix, Note N.

think, most easily explained, by supposing that the writers were mutually ignorant of each other's labours.

Church-history maintained its original character in the hands of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. They differed from Eusebius in the view they took of its principles, only in referring more sparingly to the literary labours of theologians. Like him, they regarded history merely as a record of facts. They rarely attempt to trace events to their causes; nor exhibit that subtile philosophy which pervades the writings of Thucydides, Tacitus, and some of the historians of modern times. Their conception of their subject betrays nothing like genius, nor does their manner of handling it accord with the rules of art. They afford examples of accurate drawing; but are destitute of the grandeur, harmony, and animation which we require in the finished picture. The tone, however, in which they write is admirable. They are deeply impressed with the sacredness of their subject, and neglect few opportunities of deducing from it lessons of spiritual wisdom. It is evident even from the passages which I have adduced from their writings, that they knew where to look for materials. They carefully examined the letters of emperors and bishops, the proceedings of councils, and the other public and private sources of information¹. They seem to have

¹ The sources from which they derived their information, are carefully traced by Holzhausen, p. 35—96.

fairly given us the result of their inquiries; there is no reason to suspect that they ever wilfully departed from the truth. Their chief faults—credulity, and a superstitious admiration of monastic austerities—were faults of their time; and we can hardly regret that their works breathe the spirit of the age in which they were written. They were evidently conscientious men, who wrote nothing but what they themselves believed, and deemed worthy of being handed down to posterity. Their works were composed to serve no party purpose. And it would be ungrateful to withhold our gratitude from writers who have furnished us so largely with records of the instructive events which befell the Church during so important a period of her history.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON TO THE
REFORMATION.

SECTION I.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, A.D. 451, TO THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 590.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES—CONDITION OF THE EAST
AND WEST COMPARED—INFLUENCE OF THE CONTROVERSIES OF
THE FIFTH CENTURY ON CHURCH-HISTORY — HESYCHIUS —
JOANNES ÆGEATES—BASILIUS CILIX—THEODORUS LECTOR—
ZACHARIAS RHETOR—EVAGRIUS—THE TRIPARTITE HISTORY—
LIBERATUS DIACONUS—THE CHRONICLERS.

WE now enter upon a new period. The council of Chalcedon synchronizes very closely with the changes in the political and social condition of the west of Europe which have generally been regarded as defining the limit of ancient history. The Roman empire of the west was already but a name. The German tribes had already effected permanent settlements in its fairest provinces. A few years

more made the change complete. The date of the council of Chalcedon is 451. The year 476 witnessed the deposition of Augustulus; and in 486, the victory of Clovis established the Franks in Gaul. We cannot find a later era for the commencement of the middle ages.

In the convulsions which ended in the breaking up of the ancient system, literature and the arts remained the undivided portion of the empire. Valour and success were on the side of its enemies; but taste and learning, scared by the rudeness of the strangers, fondly clung to the venerable remains of Roman civilization. While society in the West assumed that picturesque and romantic form which imparts the charm of interest and beauty to the darkest periods of the *dark ages*, the East remained what it had been for more than a century. The Eastern empire had, if I may so speak, no middle age. The long narrative of its fortunes is but a continuation of ancient history. In its protracted decline it retained the feelings and manners of antiquity, modified only by the orientalism introduced in the time of Constantine. While the West was displaying all the wildness of an early state of society, and was passing through the light and adventurous season of youth to the firmness and intelligence of manhood, the eastern portion of Christendom was living a long old age, dignified even when exhibiting the most decided marks of senility, and still retaining—marvellously retaining—the pecu-

liarities, good and evil, of the brighter days of the Christian empire.

The student of the history of the middle ages should always keep in view this distinction. But it is highly necessary that I should insist upon it here. For, as my plan leads me to deduce the succession of the Ecclesiastical historians according to the order of time, by exhibiting together the writers of the East and West, I might otherwise contribute to perpetuate a very serious error. I would, therefore, take this opportunity of begging my readers to remember, that the Greeks and Latins of the middle ages were only contemporaries: and that for the rest, there is not a greater difference between the climate of the Baltic and that of the Ægean, than there was during the middle period of history as to every thing that related to the spirit of the time, on the Rhine and on the Bosphorus.

At the council of Chalcedon the Church assumed that position between naturalism and enthusiasm, which exposes her alike to the hostility of the rationalist and the fanatic. She renewed her protest against Nestorianism, while she solemnly condemned the more spiritual error of Eutyches and Dioscorus. He who watches over her, preserved her from erroneous views of what it is not, perhaps, too much to call the characteristic doctrine of Christianity—the doctrine of the incarnation; and she was enabled to raise a bulwark in that direction against the spirit of delusion, which by the Divine

40. CONTROVERSIES OF THE FIFTH CENTURY. [CHAP.

blessing has proved impregnable. The immediate result, however, of the council of Chalcedon was not peace. The controversy respecting the doctrine, which had led to its convocation, was continued in various forms, and with no ordinary energy and learning, for upwards of two centuries ; and it was not till the sixth general council (680) had declared the sense of the Church against the Monothelites, that the disputes respecting the incarnation can be regarded as having found their termination. The controversial spirit of the time, however, tended to promote rather than discourage the cultivation of Church-history. The various contending parties were anxious to defend the conduct of their friends, and to conciliate for their principles the good opinion of posterity ; and, accordingly, we are able to name not fewer than five independent writers who recorded the events which took place between the fourth and fifth general councils. But we have, unfortunately, no means of judging of the success which they attained in historical composition. Their works have perished¹ ; and we know nothing of them but what we learn from the notices of Photius, and the fragments of their writings which have been preserved elsewhere.

¹ We still possess the History of the Council of Nice, written by Gelasius of Cyzicus, towards the end of the fifth century. But it is a work which can scarcely be said to have affected the progress of Ecclesiastical History. It is printed in most of the editions of the Councils. See Fabr. Bibl. Græc. viii. 171.

The Ecclesiastical history of HESYCHIUS is known only from an extract which was read before the second council of Constantinople¹, and a casual allusion made to the writer in a letter of the emperor Justinian, preserved in the "Paschal Chronicle"². Fabricius³ assigns it to a writer of the name who died in 433, and Cave⁴ most strangely places it among the works of another who lived in 601. But the tone in which he speaks of Theodore of Mopsuestia furnishes, I think, satisfactory evidence against the early date; and it was, of course, by an oversight that our learned countryman placed him lower than 553. The work⁵ from which the

¹ It is an account of the life and opinions of Theodore of Mopsuestia. We have it in a Latin version among the acts of the second Council of Constantinople, (Concil. Constant. collatio V.) in the fifth volume of the Councils (Labbe) col. 470.

² Ταῦτα μαρτυροῦσι Σωζόμενος, καὶ Ἡσύχιος, καὶ Σωκράτης, καὶ Θεόδωρος. Chron. Pasch. p. 295, E. Edit. Venet.

³ Bibl. Græc. vol. vi. pp. 113, 245.

⁴ Hist. Lit. ad ann.

⁵ Though I follow my predecessors in ranking Hesychius among the Ecclesiastical historians, I feel a very strong suspicion that no author of that name ever wrote an ecclesiastical history. I have stated above the evidence on which the common opinion is founded. Justinian's letter and the Acts of the Council, undoubtedly refer to the same passage of the same writer. The one mentions his name among Ecclesiastical historians, and the other calls his work an Ecclesiastical history. But the circumstance that no mention whatever is made of such a work elsewhere, and the character of the passage itself, which seems to me to be taken from a homily, induce me to think that the title as it now stands in the Acts of the Council, viz. "Ab

extract in question was made, was probably written towards the end of the fifth century.

JOANNES ÆGEATES, a presbyter of the Eutychian party, wrote his Ecclesiastical history in the beginning of the sixth¹ century. It consisted of ten books, and began with the rise of the Nestorian controversy. According to Photius, who had read the first five books, which ended with the year 477,

Ecclesiastica Historia Hesychii Presbyteri Hierosolymorum, de Theodoro," was added, or altered by a transcriber, who meeting with a notice of an historical circumstance from a work which he did not happen to know, ignorantly assigned it to an ecclesiastical history.

¹ I have no hesitation in assigning a lower date than is usually given to Joannes Ægeates. Cave (ad ann. 483), it would seem from what he says, against his own judgment, has followed Vossius in placing him in the reign of the Emperor Zeno. But as he certainly gave an account of Xenaïas of Hierapolis (Concil. tom. vii. col. 369), and mentioned the elevation of Severus to the see of Antioch (Nicephor. Callisti, Lib. xvi. cap. 29. p. 700), he could not have written earlier than 513. He must be distinguished from three other writers of the same name, with whom he has been sometimes confounded, viz. Joannes Rhetor and Joannes Epiphaniensis, both cited by Evagrius, and Joannes Malelas, whom I shall notice hereafter. Bandini indeed concurs with Le Quien in thinking John the Monophysite to have been the same person as Joannes Rhetor, but I cannot yield to the authority of these learned men. (Bandini Imperium Orientale, ii. 569. edit. Venet.). It is true that Photius says that Joannes Ægeates was a Nestorian. Cod. lv. But this is a manifest error. For he immediately adds, that he wrote against the council of Chalcedon, a clear proof that he was a Monophysite.

it was written with clearness and elegance¹; and violent as may have been the prejudices of the author, we have great reason to regret the loss of a work of this nature, written by a professed Monophysite².

BASILIVS CILIX, who is generally supposed to have been Bishop of Irenopolis, in Cilicia³, is represented as having entertained the opinions of Nestorius⁴, though he does not appear to have withdrawn from the communion of the Church. His Ecclesiastical history, which was comprised in three books⁵, began with the reign of the Emperor Marcian, and was probably continued to the end of

¹ Appendix, Note O.

² He is called Ἰωάννης ὁ διακρινόμενος (Theod. Lect. p. 578. Concil. tom. vii. col. 369), and simply, ὁ διακρινόμενος (Incerti Demonstr. Chronograph. ap. Combefis. Originum C Politanarum Manipulum, p. 24), i. e. the Monophysite. The Monophysites were called οἱ διακρινόμενοι, because they *scrupled* to receive the council of Chalcedon : ὠνόμασαν ἑαυτοὺς Διακρινομένους, διὰ τὸ διακρίνεσθαι αὐτοὺς κοινωνεῖν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, χάριν τῆς μνημονευθείσης συνόδου· ταύτην γὰρ ὡς ὀρθόδοξον δέχεται ἡ ἀγιωτάτη ἐκκλησία. Timoth. Presb. C P. de Receptione Hæreticorum, ap. Cotelieri Eccles. Græc. Monum. tom. iii. p. 406. See also Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vol. vi. p. 113.

³ Cave, Hist. Lit. ad ann. 497. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vol. vi. p. 114. This, however, is not the opinion of Le Quien (Oriens Christ. tom. ii. col. 899), who thinks Basilius Cilix to have been a different person from the bishop mentioned by Suidas.

⁴ Photii Bibl. Cod. cvii.

⁵ Photius was acquainted only with the second book, which included the period from the death of Pope Simplicius (483) to the accession of Justin (518). But the author himself, he tells us, made a mention of first and third. Bibl. Cod. xlii. We are not told at what period the third book concluded.

that of Justin I. Photius¹ tells us that he was an incorrect and unequal writer, and complains that his work was rather an unwieldy collection of original letters than a lucid historical composition. But this censure of the critic only makes us the more regret that we are not so fortunate as to possess a writer who would have contributed a large supply of the sources of history.

Theodore, a reader of the great church at Constantinople, hence generally known as THEODORUS LECTOR², distinguished himself by the cultivation of Church-history in the early part of the sixth century. We know nothing of the particulars of his life; his writings only have saved his name from oblivion. But these were important. He appears to have been the only orthodox Ecclesiastical historian of his time. His first³ work was an original history, in two books, of the period between the council of Ephesus (431) and the reign of the elder

¹ Appendix, Note P.

² Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 128. The remains of this writer have usually been printed with the other Greek Ecclesiastical Historians.

³ As the Ecclesiastical History of Theodore appears to have been a complete work, while his Tripartite arrangement seems to have been never finished, I cannot but regard the former as having been first written. This, however, has not been the general opinion. The two have sometimes been regarded as intended to form one work—the part which was original, being merely a continuation of the other. Thus Suidas says, *ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων Κωνσταντίνου, ἕως τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστινιανοῦ.*

Justin (518), which was held in great esteem by succeeding writers, and appears to have been written with judgment and accuracy. It has not come down to posterity: we only possess a series of extracts¹ made from it by Nicephorus Callisti² in the fourteenth century, and a few other fragments. But these, though they throw little light on the form and method of the work to which they belonged, afford much authentic information respecting the state of the Eastern Church from the death of Theodosius II. to that of Anastasius.

But Theodôre the Reader has an especial claim for notice in the present work, as the earliest writer of a new kind of Ecclesiastical history. The writers,

¹ Ἐκλογαὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας Θεοδώρου Ἀναγνώστου, ἀπὸ φωνῆς Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου.

² Valesius, however, believed that Nicephorus himself possessed no other part of the work of Theodore than these extracts. *Re attentius examinata, dubito utrum Nicephorus integram Theodori Lectoris Historiam legerit. Quantum enim ex accurata lectione Nicephori colligere possum, Nicephorus integrum opus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Theodori non viderat, sed excerpta duntaxat quæ nunc habemus. Certe si integrum opus Theodori legisset Nicephorus, multo plura ac meliora inde in suam Historiam transtulisset. Quod cum ille non fecerit, sed sola ea retulerit quæ hodie leguntur in excerptis Theodori, apparet verissimum esse id quod dixi, integram scilicet Theodori Lectoris Historiam a Nicephoro visam non fuisse. Quare verba illa ἀπὸ φωνῆς Νικηφόρου, quæ leguntur in titulo Excerptorum Theodori, non ita accipienda sunt, quasi horum Excerptorum auctor fuerit Nicephorus. Sed id tantum significant, Nicephorum Callistum hæc excerpta amanuensi suo dictasse. Præfat. ad tom. iii. Eccles. Hist. Scriptorum.*

who had hitherto attempted to illustrate the fortunes of the Church, had confined themselves to original composition. Theodore condescended to edit the labours of his predecessors. At the suggestion, as he tells us, of a Paphlagonian presbyter, or bishop¹, he employed himself in reducing the works of the three historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, into one connected narrative², with a view probably of providing a convenient connexion between the history of Eusebius and his own work³. But it does not appear that this Tripartite history was completed. His labours probably were inter-

¹ He thus notices the circumstance in the Proœmium of his work. Ἐκ τινος ψήφου ἐπιζενοῦσθαί μοι λαχόντι κατὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον Παφλαγόνων ἔθνος ἐν μητροπόλει τοῦνομα Γάγγρα, ἐν αὐτῇ τε ἀπολαύσαντι τῆς σῆς ἱερᾶς ὁμοῦ καὶ τιμίον μοι κεφαλῆς, ἡναγκαζόμεν παρ' αὐτῆς, ἐξ αὐτῆς τὰς ὑποθέσεις ληψόμενος συναγαγεῖν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστοριῶν τοὺς ἐκθένας, καὶ μίαν τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀρμόσασθαι σύνταξιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πατρικῇ κελεύσει ἀντιλέγειν οὐχ ὄσιον, εἰ καὶ φράσεως τῆς πρεπούσης ἐλειπόμην, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔργον ἀμελληγὶ ἦλθον, ὑμετέραις εὐχαῖς τεθαρρόκως. From this passage, and the inelegance of his style, Valesius suspects that Theodore was himself a Paphlagonian.

² Appendix, Note Q.

³ Primum opus nihil aliud erat quam Historia Tripartita, duobus libris comprehensa, quam ex Socrate, Sozomeno, ac Theodorito unum in corpus collegerat, a vicesimo anno Imperatoris Constantini usque ad principatum Juliani. Hujus Tripartitæ Historiæ notitiam Leoni Allatio debemus, qui primus hoc monumentum ex tenebris eruerat, et publica luce donaturum se esse promiserat. Ejusdem Historiæ manuscriptum exemplar Venetiis in Bibliotheca sancti Marci extare, jam pridem monuit Possevinus: quod etiam ab se visum illic esse mihi testatus est Emericus Bigotius. Valesius in Præfat.

rupted. We find two books only of this arrangement mentioned by ancient writers; and the manuscript of the work, which was in the possession of Leo Allatius, brought down the history merely to the death of Constantius (361). We have no reason to regret that it never became popular, as we are no doubt indebted to the circumstance for the preservation of the original works in their integrity. If the Tripartite history of Theodore had been read as widely and as exclusively in the East, as that of Cassiodorus was in the West, it is scarcely likely that we should now possess a complete work of any Greek Ecclesiastical historian of the fifth century.

ZACHARIAS RHETOR was bishop of Melitene¹, in the lesser Armenia, in the former part of the reign of Justinian. His Ecclesiastical history was only known to have existed from its being frequently referred to by Evagrius, till, in the last century, several considerable fragments of a Syriac translation², or the original, were published from the Vatican manuscripts in the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemani. It extended, according to this learned Maronite, from the reign of Constantine to the middle of that of Justinian I³. The earlier portions,

¹ Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. col. 1451.

² Assemani appears to have thought that the work was originally written in Syriac. But, in the absence of positive evidence, I am disposed to regard the fact of its being so often referred to by Evagrius, who, as far as I am aware, never quotes a Syriac writer, as proving that it was written in Greek.

³ Zacharias Meletinæ in Armenia minore Episcopus, claruit sub

he tells us, were merely abridgments of Socrates and Theodoret; and the original part must have come down as low as I have stated, as it mentioned the taking of Rome by Totila (546). It is evident, from the testimony of Evagrius¹, and the sentiments expressed in the fragments of his work, that the author was a zealous Monophysite.

Justiniano Imper. circa annum Christi 540. *Rhetorem* vocat Evagrius in Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 2, 8, 10, et lib. iii. cap. 5, 6, 7, et 18. *Malelam* مَلْعَلَم hoc est, oratorem, seu Rhetorem, et Meletinensem Episcopum diserte appellat Barsalibæus, cujus verba retuli supra pag. 53. Scripsit *Historiam Ecclesiasticam a Constantini Magni Imperio usque ad annum Justiniani vigesimum*, quæ anonyma exstat in Cod. Syr. Vat. 24. Sed Auctoris nomen tum ex collatione locorum, quæ ab Evagrio ex Zacharia citantur, tum ex Barsalibæo, qui ejus nomen diserte prodidit, restituimus. Tres vero Partes continet. Prima est epitome Socratis: Altera Theodreti: Tertia opus ipsius Zachariæ a Theodosio Juniore usque ad Justinianum. . . . Tertia Pars, unde Zacharias initium historiæ suæ ducit, incipit a fol. 78. Mutila est autem, et ab amanuensi videtur in compendium redacta, vel potius capita quædam ex historia Zachariæ, quæ in octo libris dividebatur, ut infra patebit, decerpta. Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, tom. ii. cap. 7. pp. 54, 55.

¹ Ἐμπαθῶς τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν συγγράψας. Lib. iii. c. 7. p. 341. Ζαχαρίας μὲν ἔμπαθῶς ὁ Ῥήτωρ καὶ Νεστόριον ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας μετάπεμπτον γενέσθαι φησί. Lib. ii. cap. 2. p. 284. Valesius translates the latter passage, "Et Zacharias quidem Rhetor Nestorio favens, ab exilio eum ad Consilium evocatum esse dicit;" a strange blunder. The story that Nestorius was recalled from banishment by the council of Chalcedon, was an invention of the Monophysites. Evagrius evidently means to assert that Zacharias inserted it in his history from party prejudice (ἐμπαθῶς), i. e. as a Monophysite.

The splendour of the reign of Justinian revived the declining literature of the empire, and stimulated it to a greater perfection than it had attained perhaps since the age of the Antonines. History was the favourite pursuit of the period. But the fortunes of the state engrossed the attention of the men of letters; and with the single exception of the author just mentioned, we are acquainted with no writer who expressly applied himself to illustrate the history of the Church. Yet we are in some measure compensated for the want of contemporary writers, and the loss of those of the preceding age, by possessing entire the work of Evagrius Scholasticus, who wrote in the last years of the century; and we have been spared, moreover, a large quantity of the original documents, which were occasioned by the Ecclesiastical transactions of the times.

EVAGRIUS was a Syrian, a native of Epiphania¹, who practised as an advocate at Antioch, where, by the interest of Gregory, the accomplished patriarch (570—594), to whom on a trying occasion he rendered professional assistance², he obtained high civil dignities. His Ecclesiastical History³ extends, in six books, from the council of Ephesus to the twelfth

¹ Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 126.

² He accompanied his client to Constantinople, whither he went to answer some malicious charges before the Emperor and a Synod. *Περὶ τούτων ἐμοῦ παρεδρεύοντος καὶ παρόντος γε αὐτῷ, κατὰ τὴν βασιλείας γέγονε τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὑφέξων.* Lib. vi. cap. 7. p. 458.

³ *Ἐναγρίου Σχολαστικοῦ Ἐπιφανέως καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, Ἐκ-*

year of the Emperor Maurice (594). Strictly speaking, therefore, it does not belong to the interval allotted to this section; though, as it was written in the author's declining years, and concludes the first series of the Greek works of a similar nature, it is more naturally noticed here than in the following period. The style, as Photius¹ remarks, though somewhat diffuse, is not unpleasing; the opinions expressed, though they sometimes partake of the inaccuracy² of an unprofessional writer, are sound and orthodox; and the whole work bears

κλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, printed in the third volume of the Collection of Valesius.

¹ "Ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν οὐκ ἄχαρις, εἰ καὶ πως περιττεύεσθαι ἐνίοτε δοκεῖ. ἐν τῇ δὲ τῶν δογμάτων ὀρθότητι τῶν ἄλλων μᾶλλον ἱστορικῶν. Bibl. Cod. xxix. p. 7. Valesius gives the following candid and judicious estimate of the merits and defects of Evagrius: *Laudanda est in primis Evagrii diligentia, qui cum historiam Ecclesiasticam scribere aggressus esset, quæcumque ad id argumentum spectabant, ex optimis scriptoribus collegit, puta ex Prisco, Joanne, Zacharia, Eustathio, et Procopio Rhe- toribus. Stilus quoque ejus non improbandus est. Habet enim elegantiam et venustatem, ut testatur etiam Photius. Sed quod præcipue in Evagrio laudandum est, ex Græcis Ecclesiasticæ historiæ scriptoribus, solus hic rectæ fidei doctrinam integram atque illibatam servavit, ut post Photium observavit Baronius in Annalibus. Illud tamen in eo reprehensionem meretur, quod non tantam diligentiam adhibuit in conquirendis antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ monumentis, quantum in legendis profanis scriptoribus.* Præfat. ad tom. iii.

² The famous passage on the Monophysite controversy (lib. ii. cap. 5. p. 294), which has been so often quoted, betrays the layman, perhaps I might say the lawyer; and

abundant marks of the care and diligence with which the author collected his materials. The general plan is similar to that adopted by the earlier labourers in the same field. It differs only in admitting a larger portion of merely civil history. Evagrius is credulous doubtless, and perhaps prejudiced, but he is at the same time accurate and inquisitive; and inferior as he is in the art of historical composition to his eminent contemporaries, Procopius, Agathias, and Theophylact, he is justly regarded as having rendered good service to the History of the Church.

While the East was thus fertile in historical works, the West, unfavourably as it was situated for literary pursuits, did not totally neglect the cultivation of Church-history. An important work is due to the period on which we are now engaged; I mean the celebrated *TRIPARTITE HISTORY*¹, or Latin arrangement of the works of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. It is itself a striking proof of the melancholy condition of those unhappy times, that upwards of a century elapsed before the writings of

shows that he was not so intimately acquainted as he ought to have been with the history of the doctrine of the Incarnation.

¹ *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, quam Tripartitam vocant, ex tribus Græcis anctoribus Sozomeno, Socrate, et Theodoro, ab Epiphonio Scholastico versis, per Cassiodorum Senatorem in Epitomen redactæ libri xii.* This is the title as it stands in the first volume of the Benedictine edition of Cassiodorus. A notice of the earlier editions of the Tripartite History is given by Walch. *Bibl. Theol.* iii. 116.

those historians were circulated in the language of the Western world, and that the translation, which was at length published, was not the natural growth of native curiosity, but was due to the piety and public spirit of a wealthy individual. Marcus Aurelius Cassiodorus was descended from a senatorian family, and, as the minister of the great Theodoric, enjoyed the highest honours in the Gothic kingdom of Italy. After retiring from the world in the year 537, he devoted his talents to the spiritual and mental improvement of the inmates of a monastery which he founded in Calabria. Deeply sensible of the importance of Church-history, and anxious to wipe away the reproach that the Greeks possessed historical treasures which were inaccessible to his countrymen¹, he employed Epiphanius Scholasticus, an Italian eminent for his acquaintance with the Greek language², to translate the continuators of Eusebius into Latin; and he afterwards himself digested the three narratives into one connected

¹ Post historiam Eusebii apud Græcos Socrates, Sozomenus, et Theodorus sequentia conscripserunt; quos a viro Epiphanio disertissimo in uno corpore duodecim libris fecimus, Deo auxiliante, transferri, ne insultet habere se facunda Græcia necessarium, quod vobis iudicet esse subtractum. Cassiodor. Instit. Divin. Lect. cap. xvii.

² The moderns, however, have not been so well convinced of the competency of Epiphanius, as his noble employer. "Epiphanium Scholasticum," says Fabricius, "interpretis officio non optime functum esse, ac linguam utramque ex æquo ignorasse, plerorumque post Rhenanum est iudicium." Bibl. Lat. ii. 653.

history¹. Though, as we have already seen, he was not the first to attempt a harmony of this kind, it does not appear that he was aware that any thing of the kind had been done before. He has therefore all the merit, if here it can be regarded as a merit, of originality. But, in truth, the design was a proof of the degeneracy of literature. It has been well observed that the appetite for abridgments, and I may add compendious ways of obtaining learning, marks the decline of civilization. The different fate of the works of Theodore the Reader and Cassiodorus, affords a striking evidence of the different state of intellectual culture in the East and West in the sixth century. The one attracted little notice, the other was received with eagerness and preserved with care: yet Cassiodorus deserves to be named with respect for having supplied his contemporaries with a work well suited to their actual wants. And small as is the value of the Tripartite History to those who possess, and have the power of reading, the works from which it was compiled, it is of great importance in a historical view of the condition and progress of Ecclesiastical History, as having, with the translation of Eusebius, which had been made by Rufinus, supplied the West, for nearly a thousand years, with all it knew of the fortunes of the ancient Church.

The active opposition of the North African divines to the measures of Justinian respecting "the Three Chapters," led to the further examina-

¹ Appendix, Note R.

tion and elucidation of an interesting portion of Church-history. Not to mention the controversial work of Facundus of Hermiana¹, which was to a certain extent historical, LIBERATUS DIACONUS, arch-deacon of Carthage, wrote an account² of the troubles which had been occasioned by the errors of the Nestorians and Eutychians to the year 553. His work³ is for the most part compiled from original documents, and though written in a rude style, and with little regard to the rules of historical composition, is valuable for the information which it affords on the controversies respecting the Incarnation.

But though there were few Latin writers who handled the pen of history, during the whole of this period, a number of contemporary annalists were engaged in recording the events which befell the Church and state. We still possess the Latin chronicles of Idatius, Prosper Aquitanus, Marcellinus Comes, Marius Aventicensis, Victor Tununensis, and Joannes Biclariensis⁴; which all throw more or less light on the history of the Church.

¹ Facundi Hermianensis Ecclesiæ Episcopi Provinciæ Africanæ, pro Defensione Trium Capitulorum Concilii Calchedonensis, libri xii. ad Justinianum Imperatorem. Ap. Sirmondi Opera, tom. ii. col. 297—586.

² Breviarium Causæ Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum collectum a sancto Liberato archidiacono Ecclesiæ Carthaginensis regionis sextæ. Ap. Concil. tom. v. col. 740—780. It was published in a separate form by Garnier; Paris, 1675.

³ Appendix, Note S.

⁴ Prosper, Victor, an anonymous continuator, and the Abbot

SECTION II.

FROM THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 590, TO
THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 814.

THE CONDITION OF HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES—ST. GREGORY
OF TOURS—ST. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE—THE VENERABLE BEDE—
PAULUS DIACONUS—THE IRON AGE OF BYZANTINE LITERATURE
—JOANNES MALELAS—THE PASCHAL CHRONICLE—GEORGIUS
SYNCELLUS—THEOPHANES—NICEPHORUS.

CHURCH-HISTORY was scarcely less affected than other branches of knowledge by the peculiar circumstances which characterised the middle ages. In the long interval between the end of the sixth century and the revival of classical literature, no distinction was generally recognized between civil and Ecclesiastical history. The few works which were composed in imitation of the ancient models, were the lucubrations of students and antiquarians—exotics produced by artificial culture, and exhibiting, for the most part, little of the freshness and vigour of an indigenous vegetation. Those, which were the natural and spontaneous growth of the period, had all more or less of an Ecclesiastical

of Biclaro, form a series, ending with the year 590. They are printed in the first volume of Basnage's edition of the "*Antiquæ Lectiones*" of Canisius, pp. 264—341. Idatius and Marcellinus Comes are to be found most complete in Sirmond's Works, vol. ii. col. 227—296. Edit. Venet. 1728. Marius Aventicentis is in the first volume of Du Chesne's *Scriptores Rerum Franc.*

character, though scarcely any were written expressly on the history of the Church. This was just as it might have been expected to be. The Church was co-extensive with European civilization¹. Writers were almost universally ecclesiastics. Literature was scarcely anything but a religious exercise; for every thing that was studied, was studied with a reference to religion. The men, therefore, who wrote history, wrote Ecclesiastical history. It was not that they did so intentionally: they did not write by rules: they only put down what they had seen, what they had heard, what they knew. Very many of them did what they did as a matter of moral duty. The result was, in point of fact, something *sui generis*; it was not even what *we* call history at all. It was, if I may so speak, something more,—an actual admeasurement, rather than a picture; or, if a picture, it was painted in a style which had all the minute accuracy and homely reality of the most domestic of the Flemish masters, not the lofty hyperbole of the Roman school, nor the obtrusive splendour, not less unnatural, of the Venetian. In a word, history as a subject of criticism, is an art, a noble and beautiful art²; the historical writing of the middle ages is nature.

Though I profess to confine myself to my own particular subject, and carefully abstain from

¹ Appendix, Note T.

² Est enim proxima poetis, et quodam modo carmen solutum, as Quintilian says.

general observations, I cannot forbear remarking that we shall never do justice to the literature of the middle ages while we obstinately continue to criticize it by a standard formed upon the classical models. We must duly appreciate the circumstances under which it was produced, and the relation in which it stood to the state of society out of which it grew,—we must study it with a close reference to the antiquities of the period, before we can possibly judge of it fairly. Those who are still disposed to sneer rather than examine, will do well to remember that the Ecclesiastical architecture, which was the very scorn of pedantic academicians for nearly three centuries, is now studied, wherever it has escaped the ravages of classical barbarians, for its rich and exquisite poetry.

But though the general character of the original histories of the middle ages is such as I have described it,—though they all partake more or less of the nature of Ecclesiastical history, while they form, in fact, a peculiar and distinct species of historical composition,—they have not all equal claims to be noticed in the present work. I am not here reduced to the hard alternative of either noticing or excluding all; but may properly call attention to those only which deserve from any peculiar circumstances to be regarded as having contributed in any considerable degree to extend an acquaintance with the history of the Church.

ST. GREGORY of Tours belongs to the sixth cen-

ture, and the exact order of time required that he should have been introduced in the last section. But he was the first of a new school. As the type of the Franco-Gallic church, under the Merovingian dynasty, he is more correctly assigned to the period upon which we have now entered—the most dreary period of literary history. The manners and institutions of the Northern conquerors had well nigh obliterated the Roman civilization, and had as yet only propagated rudeness and ignorance in their stead. Even the Church, which at first opposed an effectual resistance to the influx of barbarism, at length participated in the general debasement; though, as the darkness gathered thickly round it, it appeared more distinctly “the light of the world.” We owe it to her kindly protection that learning was not totally extinguished in this melancholy period, and that the gloom of the darkest times of European civilization was illumined by the illustrious Fathers of French¹, Spanish, and English history.

¹ Ceux qui dans le dernier siècle ont travaillé avec le plus de succès sur l'histoire de France, conviennent que c'est à Saint Gregoire de Tours que l'on est redevable de la connoissance que nous avons des premiers rois de la nation, et des principaux événemens de leurs règnes. Ils appellent les dix livres de ce père *le fond de notre histoire*, et ne regardent que comme des commentaires sur ces livres ce qu'ils ont écrit sur le même sujet. Il ne seroit pas possible en effet de parler des commencemens de la monarchie Française, sans le secours de cet écrivain. Ceillier, Histoire des Auteurs Sacrés, tom. xvii. p. 6.

Georgius Florentius Gregorius was born in the year 544, of a noble and wealthy family in Auvergne. He received a liberal education in his native province. At an early age he was ordained deacon by the bishop of Clermont, and he had not attained the age of thirty when his distinguished professional merit obtained for him the see of Tours. In this important station, which he filled till his death in 595, though he was frequently employed in public business, and actively discharged the sacred duties of his function, he still found leisure for literary labours. Of these by far the most important is his "Ecclesiastical History of the Franks¹," a work in ten books, which has come down to us entire, and forms the chief and only authentic source of early French history. His style is incorrect and inelegant². His credulity is truly wonderful. But it contains a large quantity of valuable Ecclesiastical information, and though described by the title as a national history, the plan of the author led him to introduce much which properly belongs to the general history of the Church.

ST. ISIDORE of Seville (Isidorus Hispalensis) has always been regarded as one of the brightest ornaments of the church of Spain. He was a native of Carthagera, and was archbishop of Seville during

¹ *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Francorum libri decem*. It was continued by Fredegarius Scholasticus, (a native of Burgundy, who flourished in the middle of the seventh century,) and four later writers, whose names are unknown, to the year 768.

² Appendix, Note U.

the former part of the seventh century (595—636). His works, still extant, display his extensive learning, and amply account for the admiration with which he was regarded by his contemporaries¹. A Chronicle², from the creation to the fifth year of Heraclius (614), a History³ of the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi, and the addition⁴ which he made to the catalogues of St. Jerome and Gennadius, form his contributions to Ecclesiastical History, and possess the greatest value in the estimation of posterity⁵.

THE VENERABLE BEDE, the undoubted father of our own national history, was born at Monkton, near Jarrow, in Durham, in the year 672. He was, from his childhood, an inmate of the cloister⁶, and

¹ He is thus spoken of by the Fathers of the eighth Council of Toledo, which was held in 653, a few years after his death; —*Nostri sæculi doctor egregius ecclesiæ catholicæ, novissimum decus, præcedentibus ætate postremus, doctrinæ comparatione non infimus, et quod majus est, in sæculorum fine doctissimus, atque cum reverentia nominandus Isidorus.* Concil. tom. vi. col. 404. A.

² *Chronicon* “ab exordio mundi usque ad Augusti Heraclii, et Sisebuti Gotthorum Regis principatum.” Opera, tom. i. Pars. ii. p. 123. Edit. Matriti, 1778.

³ *Historia sive Chronicon Gothorum.* Vide Fabr. Bibl. Latina Med. et Infim. *Ætatis*, vol. iv. p. 547.

⁴ *Liber Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, ap. Miræi Bibl. Eccles. pp. 75—90.

⁵ Durch seine historischen Werke hat er der Nachwelt vorzüglich gute Dienste geleistet. Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, Th. xix. S. 64.

⁶ Natus in territorio ejusdem Monasterii, cum essem annorum septem, cura propinquorum datus sum educandus reverentissimo

spent his whole life in the unwearied exercise of the duties and employments of the monastic calling. His talents and industry enabled him to attain prodigious learning. While the light of knowledge was almost extinguished in the rest of Europe, he exercised a most beneficial influence upon the intellectual condition of his countrymen. His contemporaries regarded his various and extensive acquirements with astonishment and respect; and before his death, which occurred in 735, he had gained the reputation, which he has ever retained, of being the most distinguished writer of his time. Of his numerous writings, that which possesses the greatest permanent value is the "Ecclesiastical History of the English¹." This work, the materials of which were derived from documents, from tradition, and from the personal knowledge of the author², is just what it professes to be. It is the history of Christianity in Britain. The first event which he notices is the invasion of the island by

Abbati Benedicto, ac deinde Ceolfrido; cunctumque ex eo tempus vitæ in ejusdem Monasterii habitatione peragens, omnem meditandis Scripturis operam dedi: atque inter observantiam disciplinæ regularis et quotidianam cantandi in Ecclesia curam, semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere dulce habui. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. ad fin. p. 222. edit. Smith.

¹ Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Gentis Anglorum libri v.

² Hæc de Historia Ecclesiastica Britanniarum, et maxime gentis Anglorum, prout vel ex litteris antiquorum, vel ex traditione majorum, vel ex mea ipse cognitione scire potui, Domino adjuvante digressi. Hist. Eccles. p. 222.

Julius Cæsar, and he continues his narrative to the year 731. But though invaluable as an early history of the church of England, it has no claim to be regarded as a general history of the Church. His "Chronicle¹," brief as it is, has greater pretensions to the character of a general history; and at all events it deserves to be noticed here, as having been the first historical work which employed the calculation of the year of the birth of our Lord, made by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, which has since become the common era².

I can add the name of but one Latin writer to this illustrious triumvirate. The history of the Church, as well as the political condition of Italy under the domination of the Lombards, is illustrated by the works of PAULUS DIACONUS. Paul Winfried,

¹ *Chronicon sive de sex ætatibus sæculi*. It begins with the creation, and ends with the year 729. It has been freely copied by several later chroniclers.

² Dass *Beda* der erste gewesen ist, der in Geschichtsbüchern die Jahre von der Geburt Christi an, nach der Bestimmung des Dionysius, gerechnet hat; dem man auch die Beschreibung des verlorren *Dionysianischen Cyclus* verdankt; (de ratione temporum, cap. 45, 47.) und durch den daher der Gebrauch jener Zeitrechnung in den Abendländern eingeführt worden ist, wie zwo bald nach seinem Tode, im Jahr 742, gehaltene Kirchenversammlungen, die eine zu *Clovesho* in England, (in Harduini Actis Concilior. t. iii. p. 1917.) die andere an einem ungenannten Orte in Ostfranken, (ibid. pag. 1919.) welche sich derselben bedient haben, beweisen; alles dieses ist schon von Joh. Wilh. Janus (*Hist. Aerae Christ. c. 3. pag. 886. sq.*) bemerkt worden. Schröckh, Kirchengeschichte, xix. 74, 75.

a deacon of Aquileia, was the notary, or chancellor, of Desiderius, the last of the Lombard kings ; and, upon the fall of that monarch in 774, enjoyed the favour of the victorious Charlemagne. But his affection for his former master rendered him an object of suspicion to the conqueror. He was for some time an exile and a wanderer, and at last found a permanent residence in the monastery of Monte Cassino. He is entitled to the gratitude of posterity as having contributed, with our illustrious countryman Alcuin, to that remarkable revival of literature which distinguished the Carlovingian period ; and a number of historical and biographical works¹, which are still extant, assert his claim to be regarded as an Ecclesiastical historian.

We have hitherto found the East abundant in historical writers. From the time of Eusebius to the last years of the sixth century, we have been able to trace a succession, almost uninterrupted, of Ecclesiastical

¹ See Fabr. *Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætatis*, vol. v. pp. 620—634. His chief historical work is the well known history of the Lombards, "*De gestis Langobardorum libri vi.*" Printed in the historical collections of Lindenbrogius, Grotius, and Muratori. But his "*Gesta Episcoporum Metensium*" (printed most correctly in the learned work of Calmet, *Histoire Ecclesiastique et Civile de Lorraine*, tom. i. *Preuves*, col. 51—60) is more strictly Ecclesiastical. Five books of the "*Historia Miscella*" (xii—xvi) are also due to Paul the Deacon. The first eleven are, for the most part, merely the compendium of Eutropius ; the last eight were compiled by Landulphus Sagax in the fourteenth century.

historians in that branch of the Catholic Church. We are now to notice a state of things very different. It was nearly destitute of original writers of history during the seventh and eighth centuries. Nor is it only the paucity of Greek historians of which we have to complain. The few who wrote were utterly devoid of literary merit. We are hurried at once from the florid beauties of the time of Justinian to the rudeness and sterility of the iron age of Byzantine literature. Theophylactus Simocatta, one of the most able and elegant historians of the lower empire, was not removed by a whole generation from JOANNES MALELAS¹, and the author of the Paschal Chronicle. The fact is so extraordinary that I should be disposed, with Hody², to assign Malelas

¹ Joannis Antiocheni cognomento Malalæ Historia Chronica. It commenced with the Creation; and the Bodleian MS., from which it was printed, comes down to the year 566. But this MS. was mutilated at the beginning and at the end. The early part was supplied by Chilmead from the Bodleian MS. of Georgius Hamartolus. There are no means of determining in what year it concluded when entire. An account of the circumstances attending the publication of the Oxford edition of Malelas, (the sole contribution which has been made by English scholars to the materials of Byzantine history,) is given by Bishop Monk in his learned and interesting life of Bentley, vol. i. p. 25, et seq.

² In the Prolegomena to the Oxford edition (No. 16—39) his arguments were answered by Cave (Hist. Lit. Ed. 1740, tom. i. pp. 568—570), Fabricius (Bibl. Græc. vi. 139), Gibbon (Decline and Fall, vol. vii. p. 63, note 1), and Gieseler (Kirchengeschichte, i. 621), concur with the learned author of

to the ninth century, were it not that the **PASCHAL CHRONICLE**¹, which evidently belongs to the reign of Heraclius, sufficiently proves that history was written in the East by ill-informed and barbarous writers as early as the former part of the seventh century. Neither of these authors, however, affords us much information which we do not meet with elsewhere². Though both, especially the latter, throw light on particular circumstances of Ecclesiastical history.

From the time at which the Paschal Chronicle concludes, we meet with no Greek historian for upwards of an hundred and fifty years. That a civilized and polished people should, during so long an interval, have remained without any contemporary records³, is a fact almost unparalleled in the history

the *Historia Literaria*, in supposing him to have written at the beginning of the seventh century. See Appendix, Note V.

¹ *Πασχάλιον* seu *Chronicon Paschale a mundo condito ad Heraclii Imperatoris annum vicesimum*. This is the title under which it was published by Ducange (Paris, 1688). Before that time it was generally known as the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*—the title assigned by an earlier editor, the Jesuit Rader. Vide Fabr. *Bibl. Græc.* vi. 142.

² Vide Ducange in *Præfat.* p. vii. edit. Venet.

³ I mean of course so far only as history is concerned. The theological writers for more than a century later, wrote comparatively well. Maximus, Anastasius the Sinaite, Andrew of Crete, and John of Damascus, are not to be despised even for their language. I should remark too that the Paschal Chronicle can scarcely be regarded as a history. It was rather a calendar; and a large part of it was probably written as early as the time

of literature. It seems, however, to have been literally the case in the present instance. It is not that we have lost the historians of the period; none appear to have existed: for modern learning has detected the name of scarcely a single historian¹ or annalist who wrote in the Greek language between the year 629 and the very end of the eighth century. Destitute, however, as we are of contemporary guides², we are not altogether destitute of the materials for this period of the history of eastern Christendom. To illustrate the events of the seventh century, which is properly enough distinguished as

of Constantius II. Ducange says, *Quisquis istius Chronici auctor fuerit, scripsit ille non tam Chronicon, quam Computum Paschalem, ut ipsemet in Præfatione, seu Syntagmate de Paschate, cujus meminimus, profitetur, vel Πασχάλιον, uti Græci Ecclesiastici vocant, hoc est Canonem de celebrando Paschate. Præfat. p. viii. edit. Venet.* I have just seen an almanack for the present year, which, if produced a thousand years to come, would prove strange things against the English literature of the nineteenth century.

¹ The *Pratum Spirituale* (βιβλος, ἡ ἐπιγεγραμμένη λειμῶν, διὰ τὸ πολυανθῆ βίων διήγησιν τῆς οὐρανοπόρου ραδονιᾶς φέρειν,) of Joannes Mochus (ap. Bibl. PP. Græco-latin. tom. ii. p. 1057—1162. Cotelieri Eccles. Græc. Mon. tom. ii. p. 341—456), belongs to this period. It is a work written in imitation of the Lausiac History of Palladius, and is of considerable value for the light it throws on the Monachism of the East.

² The patrician Trajanus wrote a short Chronicle (χρονικὸν σύντομον) in the reign of Justinian II. But we know not whether he brought it down to his own time. See Suidas in Τραιανός, and Labbe, *Protrepticon*, p. 52, edit. Paris.

the age of the Monothelites, we possess many important original documents, the acts of several councils¹, and the works of St. Maximus and his disciples. But for the eighth century, which has been named from the Iconoclasts, our information is, it must be confessed, exceedingly scanty. The decree of the great council held at Constantinople in 754 against image-worship, which is preserved among the acts of the second council of Nice², a few original letters, and the works of John of Damascus, are the only documents extant which illustrate the Ecclesiastical history of the reigns of the first Iconoclast emperors of the East³. And

¹ Concil. tom. vi. edit. Labbe.

² Concil. tom. vii. col. 396—533.

³ It is not, therefore, at all surprising that the history of the first three Iconoclast emperors is encumbered with extraordinary difficulties. Whether the course which they pursued against image-worship was the result of conviction, or caprice, or policy; whether they are to be applauded, or condemned, or pitied; what are the facts, what the exaggerations and embellishments of the common story, are problems which are scarcely capable of solution. But more might perhaps be done than has been done yet. It is, however, a work for which a critic is needed, not a disputant. Such writers as Maimbourg (*Histoire de l'Hérésie des Iconoclastes*), and Natalis Alexander (*Hist. Eccles.*) on the one side, and Frederic Spanheim (*Historia Hist. Restituta*) on the other, are advocates, not historians. Walch, as usual, has made a noble collection of the evidence (*Historie der Kezereien*, X.) The most recent work written expressly on the subject, that of Schlosser (*Geschichte der Bilderstürmenden Kaiser des oströmischen Reichs*, Frankfurt am Main, 1812),

for this latter period we have the greater reason to regret the want of contemporary historians, as upon the revival of a taste for historical composition among the Greeks, the history of the memorable transactions by which it had been distinguished, was written solely by bigotted Image-worshippers, whose prejudices and violence allow us to repose but little confidence on the accounts which they give of the principles and proceedings of their opponents.

GEORGIUS SYNCELLUS was the first to break the long silence. This writer, who was σύγκελλος, or coadjutor¹, of Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople (784—806), projected a chronological history² of the world, from the creation to the end of the eighth century³. His death prevented the completion of his undertaking. He proceeded only as far

has, I think, left the difficulties very much as it found them. It bears few remarks of originality of thought or investigation. The views are common-place, and the sentiments insipid: Should any one ever attempt the subject among ourselves, he should constantly remember the sneer of Gibbon—"On this head (i. e. image-worship) the protestants are so notoriously in the right, that they can venture to be impartial."—Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 118. note, edit. 1820.

¹ Goar, in his preface to the Paris edition of Georgius Syncellus, explains the nature of this office, and relates all that is known of his author.

² Ἐκλογή χρονογραφίας συνταγείσα ὑπὸ Γεωργίου Μοναχοῦ Συγκέλλου γεγονότος Ταρασίου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ.

³ Ἀπὸ τῆς πρωτοκτίστου ἡμέρας ἕως τοῦ καθολικοῦ ἐξάκεις

as the reign of Diocletian. But he wrote enough to shew that it was part of his design to incorporate in his work the information which had been collected by preceding writers on the history of the Church.

The labours of Georgius Syncellus were, in consequence of the dying request of the author¹, continued by his friend THEOPHANES, in a work which is justly regarded as one of the most important in the whole series of the Byzantine historians. Theophanes was himself a person of some importance in the Ecclesiastical history of the Eastern empire. His father, who was a member of a noble family, and had been employed in offices of trust and dignity by Constantine Copronymus, died while he was yet in his infancy. He was, therefore, educated under the care of his mother, and early derived from a domestic of the family a strong desire to lead an ascetic life. But his splendid fortune rendered it difficult for him to indulge his inclination. Under the Iconoclast emperors to be a monk was to be a rebel. He was compelled to marry the daughter of a favoured courtier; but the bride, fortunately, was not indisposed to her husband's views, and he gladly embraced the opportunity which was soon after afforded by the regency of Irene (781), to retire altogether from the world,

χιλιοστοῦ τριακοσιοστοῦ ἔτους ἰνδικτίωνος πρώτης. *Chronographia*, p. 3. A. edit. Venet.

¹ Appendix, Note W.

and employ his wealth in founding a monastery, As the superior of this establishment he heartily co-operated in the restoration of the images. The circumstances under which he had devoted himself to the monastic life, and his character for sanctity, procured him reputation; and when the Iconoclasts again triumphed (814), he had the opportunity of evincing the sincerity of his principles by enduring persecutions which obtained for him a place in the *Menologium*, and the title of *Confessor*¹. When we take into consideration the circumstances of his life, it would be almost unreasonable to expect to find in the historical writings of Theophanes either moderation or candour. In his *Chronographia*, which, as it has been already explained, was written in continuation of the work of Georgius Syncellus, and which extends from the beginning of the reign of Diocletian to the end of that of Michael Rhangabe (814), he makes no profession of impartiality, but denounces the Iconoclasts with unmeasured violence. For his information, however, he professes to follow preceding writers², and his work cannot but be regarded as a history of the Church.

¹ A contemporary life of *St. Theophanes*, and the office for the day (March 12) on which he is commemorated, are printed before his *Chronographia* (edit. Goar et Combefis, Paris, 1655, et Venet. 1729). From these sources I have extracted the particulars given above. The life of Theophanes Confessor in Hankius (*de Byzantin. Scriptoribus*, pp. 200—218) displays great research and learning.

² When he speaks of having written nothing on his own

NICEPHORUS¹, who was patriarch of Constantinople from 806 to 815, and was one of the most able defenders of the images, also wrote a short history² of the period between the death of Maurice (602) and the year 769—a work which was admired by Photius³, and of which a great part may be regarded as belonging to Ecclesiastical history. The appearance of a book which could obtain the praise of the great Byzantine critic, sufficiently indicates the revival of a literary taste among the

authority, οὐδὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συντάξαντες (see the whole passage in the Appendix, Note W), it is most natural to understand him as speaking in reference to the times beyond his own memory. The last forty years of his history must surely have been original. For the preceding times, when he had not *ιστοριογράφοι* (as he had for the earlier part), he had *λογογράφοι*, by whom I understand him to mean the panegyrists of the saints, a class of writers that existed, as we have sufficient evidence to prove, even in the indolence and troubles of the seventh and eighth centuries.

¹ A copious account of *St. Nicephorus* (Junii die II. Menolog. Græc. apud Thesaur. Monum. Basnage, tom. iii. P. i. p. 436) may be found in Hankius, ut supra, pp. 223—244. See also Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 295.

² Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νικηφόρου Πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἱστορία σύντομος ἀπὸ τῆς Μαυρικίου βασιλείας, printed after the edition of Petavius, among the Byzantine historians, Paris, 1648. A chronological work of the same author is printed with Georgius Syncellus.

³ Ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν ἀπέριττός τε, καὶ σαφές. καλλιλεξία τε καὶ συνθήκη λόγου οὔτε λελυμένη, οὔτε αὖ πάλιν συμπεπιεσμένη περιέργως κεχρημένος· ἀλλ' οἷα ἂν χρήσαιτο ὁ ῥητορικὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ τέλειος ἀνὴρ. Bibl. Cod. lxvi.

Greeks. It is a remarkable coincidence that literature emerged about the same time in the East and in the West from the long eclipse of the eighth century.

SECTION III.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 814, TO THE PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT III., A.D. 1198.

NEGLECT OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY—REFINEMENT OF THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE—HAYMO OF HALBERSTADT—ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS—FLODOARD—ADAM OF BREMEN—SIGEBERT OF GEMBOURS—ORDERICUS VITALIS—REVIVAL OF LITERATURE IN THE EASTERN EMPIRE—GEORGIUS HAMARTOLUS—HISTORIANS OF THE AGE OF PHOTIUS—SIMEON METAPHRASTES—GEORGIUS CEDRENU—JOANNES ZONARAS—EUTYCHIUS—ABULPHRAGIUS.

THE further we advance into the Middle Ages, the more necessary it becomes for the historian of Church-history implicitly to adhere to the principle on which he professes to regulate the selection of writers to whom he would direct the reader's notice. We have arrived at a period when the peculiarities which I have described as characterizing the historians of those times, become more and more decided. From the middle of the ninth century, civil and ecclesiastical history alike give place to the characteristic history of the period. Nearly all the writers were, as Schröckh expresses

it, "ecclesiastics who wrote political history theologically¹." I must therefore either boldly undertake to enumerate all who distinguished themselves by the composition of historical works², or strictly confine myself to those who wrote what may properly be called the history of the Church. I have the less hesitation in deciding in favour of the latter course presented by this alternative, as, though it would be at once an interesting and useful employ to trace the succession of the historians³ of the Middle Ages, it must be confessed that they are more correctly regarded as being the *materials* of Church-history, than as deserving to be ranked themselves among the Ecclesiastical historians.

The age of Charlemagne forms an era not more important in the political history of Europe, than in the progress of knowledge and civilization among the Teutonic nations. We have a remarkable proof of the extent to which literary pursuits were cultivated under the influence of this great man and his successor, in the fact that the reign of Louis le Debonnaire produced a work on civil, and

¹ Es sind Geistliche, welche die politische Geschichte theologisch beschrieben haben. Kirchengeschichte, i. 157.

² A most convenient tabular view of the principal writers, with a notice of the editions of their works, is furnished by a very useful book intitled, *Directorium Historicorum Medii potissimum Ævi* post Marquardum Freherum et iteratas Joh. Dav. Koeleri curas recognovit, emendavit, auxit M. Geo. Christo. Hambergerus. Gottingæ, 1772.

³ Appendix, Note X.

another on Ecclesiastical, history, written in professed imitation of the ancient models. Eginhard, the accomplished secretary of Charlemagne, wrote a life¹ of his illustrious master, which has been pronounced to be a successful² imitation of Suetonius. And HAYMO, bishop of Halberstadt (840—853), a pupil of Alcuin, and one of the most celebrated theologians of his time, compiled, from Eusebius and Rufinus, an Ecclesiastical history of the first four centuries³. But the refinement of

¹ Vita et Gesta Karoli cognomento Magni, Francorum regis fortissimi, et Germaniæ suæ illustratoris, authorisque optime meriti, per Eginhartum illius quandoque alumnum, atque scribam adjuratum, Germanum. For the editions, see Hamberger. Directorium Historic. p. 105, 6. The author speaks of himself with great modesty:—En tibi librum præclarissimi et maximi viri memoriam continentem, in quo præter illius facta, non est quod admireris: nisi forte quod homo barbarus in Romana locutione perparum exercitatus, aliquid decenter aut commode Latine scribere posse putaverim, atque in tantam impudentiam proruperim, ut illud Ciceronis putarem contemnendum, quod in primo Tusculanarum libro, cum de Latinis scriptoribus loqueretur, dixisse legitur: *Mandare quenquam, inquit, literis cogitationes suas, quas nec disponere, nec illustrare possit, nec delectatione aliqua allicere lectorem, hominis est intemperanter abutentis et otio et literis.* Poterat quidem hæc oratoris egregii sententia me a scribendo deterrere, nisi animo præmeditatum esset, hominum judicia potius experiri, et scribendo ingenioli mei periculum facere, quam tanti viri memoriam, mihi parcendo, præterire. Ap. Freheri Corpus Francicæ Historiæ, p. 433, edit. 1613.

² Appendix, Note Y.

³ De Christianarum rerum memoria libri decem. He follows

the Carolingian period was soon swept away by the stormy times which followed. The works of Eginhard and Haymo were the only attempts which were made in the West to revive the classical method of historical composition. And henceforth we meet with very few writers who may not be assigned to that middle class which I have described as peculiar to the times, till the rise of modern literature.

ANASTASIUS, who was librarian (bibliothecarius) of the Church of Rome, about the year 870, rendered no inconsiderable service to Ecclesiastical history, by introducing the information communicated by the Greek historians of the preceding period to the western church. The events of his life are involved in much obscurity. Indeed the circumstances of his personal history which we find recorded, appear so inconsistent with each other¹, that some critics have been led to conclude that there were two persons of the same name, who

his] authority, Rufinus, in concluding with the reign of Theodosius I. *Hic Rufinus Ecclesiasticæ historiæ finem facit; et nos quoque finitis persecutionibus, hæresibus consopitis, fundata et extructa Ecclesia, quia post enumerationem tantorum Martyrum, Confessorum, Doctorum, sive Patrum, nihil dignius restat vel illustrius, hic cum eo suscepti operis compendium terminemus.* *Hist. Eccles. Breviar.* 199, 200, edit. Buxhornii, Lugd. Bat. 1650.

¹ These difficulties are stated at length by Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, xxi. 160.

bore the same office in the latter years of the ninth century. There seems however no doubt that the writer with whom we are concerned, was the Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who was employed on an embassy sent by the Emperor Louis II. in 869, to negotiate a marriage for his daughter at the court of Constantinople. It was probably in that employ that he became acquainted with the writings of Syncellus, Theophanes, and Nicephorus, from which he compiled, on his return, his "Ecclesiastical History"¹. Besides this important work, we still possess the Latin translations, which he made of a large number of documents² relating chiefly to the controversies with the Monothelites and the Iconoclasts. And though it is now generally admitted that he ought not to be regarded as the author of the whole of the work called the "Liber Pontificalis," or Lives of the Popes³, which bears his name, he was no doubt the writer of a considerable portion of the collection. His works evince little

¹ *Anastasii Bibliothecarii Historia Ecclesiastica, sive Chronographia Tripartita*. Edit. Caroli Annibalis Fabroti. Printed among the Byzantine Historians, Paris, 1649, and Venice, 1729. See Appendix, Note Z.

² They are enumerated by Fabricius, *Bibl. Græc.* ix. 337—9. *Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætatis*, i. 230—2.

³ *Historia de Vitis Romanorum Pontificum*, ab Petro Apost. ad Nicolaum I. Opera C. A. Fabroti; appended to the *Eccles. Hist.* But the best edition is that of Blanchini, Romæ, 1718—35. in four volumes folio.

originality, and are written without purity or elegance¹, but they afford sufficient proof of his learning and industry, and abundantly show that he had a right conception of what is valuable in Church-history.

The Martyrologies, which were produced in such abundance in France and Germany during the ninth century, can scarcely be regarded as having contributed to the advancement of the knowledge of Ecclesiastical History, though they obviously tended to render the clergy and laity of succeeding times familiar with the facts and fables which had become current with respect to the worthies of the early Church. Yet we meet with nothing else, besides what has been

¹ Multa ex Græcis Latine vertit “rudior plerumque stylo et semibarbaro, quanquam,” ut Combefisius in *Bibliotheca Concionatoria* recte judicat, “nec ipso inutili, plerisque in medii illius ævi auctoribus Græcis nobis futuris perobscuris, nisi lucem ille scientia quam sermone peritior, vel ita nobis reddens affudisset.” *Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætatis*, i. 230.

² We still possess the *Martyrologia* of *Florus Lugdunensis* (ap. *Acta SS.* tom. ii. Martii), *Wandalbertus Prumiensis* (ap. *Dacherii Spicileg.* tom. ii. p. 39, edit. 1723), *Rhabanus Maurus* (ap. *Thesaur. Monum. Basnage*, tom. ii. pt. ii. pp. 314—352), *Ado Viennensis* (ap. *Bibl. PP.* tom. xvi. edit. Lugdun.), *Usuardus* (edit. Benedict. Paris, 1718), and *Notkerus Balbulus* (ap. *Thesaur. Monum. Basnage*, tom. ii. pt. iii. pp. 89—184), all of which belong to the interval between 830 and 894. The subject of the *Martyrologies*, *Menologies*, and *Kalendars*, is treated at length by Bolland in the General Preface to the *Acta Sanctorum*, tom. i. pp. 34—48, of the Venice edition of the *Bollandist Prefaces*.

already mentioned, which is directly connected with the subject of the present inquiry. The following century however is still more barren. We can find only one writer who claims our notice. FLODOARDUS, or Frodoardus, a canon of the church of Rheims, who died in the year 966, is known to posterity as the author of a chronicle of his own time, of a work on the lives of the Popes¹, and of a history of the church of Rheims². This latter work is unquestionably an Ecclesiastical history. The importance of Rheims and its archbishops in the Ecclesiastical history of France, almost deprives it of a merely local character; and the quantity of documentary matter incorporated with the narrative, shows that the writers even of the tenth century³ were aware of what is required in the historian.

A somewhat similar work, which was composed in the next century, is of a still more interesting nature. ADAM⁴, a canon of the church of Bremen, (Adamus Bremensis,) about the year 1076, wrote

¹ Vitæ Rom. Pontificum a Gregorio II. ad Leonem VII. ap. Mabillon Acta SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iii.

² Historiæ Remensis Ecclesiæ libri iv. Auctore Flodoardo Presbytero et Canonico ejusdem Ecclesiæ, deinde monasterii Remigii monacho et Abbate. Ap. Bibl. Patrum, tom. xvi. p. 627—749, edit. 1644.

³ Yet the tenth century produced better historians than Flodoard. Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, in particular, would have been deemed no common writer in any age.

⁴ Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætatis, i. 17.

an "Ecclesiastical History"¹, containing an account of the propagation of Christianity in the dioceses of Hamburg and Bremen, and other parts of the north, from the time of Charlemagne to the reign of Henry IV., which is justly valued for the light it throws on the Ecclesiastical antiquities of the northern parts of Europe².

The name of SIGEBERT³ of Gemblours, so respectable in the eyes of Protestants, must not be omitted in an enumeration of the Ecclesiastical historians of the Middle Ages. This accomplished monk, who was so highly celebrated towards the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century for his Greek and Hebrew learning, and his intrepid defence of the rights of the civil power against the usurpations of the papacy⁴, was also the author of a chronicle and of several pieces

¹ M. Adami *Historia Ecclesiastica*; continens religionis propagatæ gesta, quæ a temporibus Caroli Magni, usque ad Henricum IV. acciderunt, in Ecclesia tam Hamburgensi quam Bremensi, vicinisque locis Septentrionalibus.

² Appendix, Note AA.

³ Fabr. *Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætatis*, vi. 508—512. Schröckh *Kirchengeschichte*, xxiv. 181—486.

⁴ One of his works in defence of the Emperor Henry IV. is extant. Two others seem to have perished. In the list he gives of his writings, he says, "Validis Patrum argumentis respondi epistolæ Hidebrandi Papæ, quam scripsit ad Hermanum Metensem Episcopum, in potestatis regiæ calumniam. Scripsi ad ipsum Henricum Apologiam, contra eos qui calumniantur Missas conjugatorum sacerdotum." *De Script. Eccles.* p. 158.

of Ecclesiastical biography. But his claim to our notice in the prosecution of the present inquiry, is founded on the large addition ¹ which he made to St. Jerome's Catalogue, which he continued on the plan of the ancient writers, and at greater length than any of the later contributors ².

Our pious countryman, Ordericus Vitalis ³, a native of Shropshire, and a monk in the monastery of St. Evroul in Normandy, is known to posterity as the author of an important historical work ⁴. He gave it the name ⁵ of an Ecclesiastical history; but by far the larger part consists of an account of the Norman wars in France, England, and Apulia, of William the Conqueror and his family, and the first Crusade; and the first part ⁶ only, which is comprised in the first two books, can be described with any propriety as a history of the Church.

¹ Liber Sigeberti Gemblacensis Monachi de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis. Ap. Miræi Bibl. Eccles. pp. 131—158, edit. Antv. 1639.

² He was followed by Henricus Gandavensis (ob. 1293), and Honorius Augustodunensis (fl. circa 1300).

³ Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætatis, v. 441—447.

⁴ Orderici Vitalis Angligenæ, Cœnobii Uticensis Monachi, Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ libri xiii. in iii. partes divisi. Apud Andr. Duchesnii Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiq. Lut. Paris. 1619. pp. 321—925.

⁵ Appendix, Note BB.

⁶ Pars prima, in qua res ab incarnatione Salvatoris usque ad annum mxxl. gestæ, per seriem Imperatorum, Regum, atque Pontificum Romanorum breviter describuntur. pp. 323—456. This part of the work is of little value.

At the close of the last section we noticed the dawn of a revival of literature in the Eastern empire. The promise afforded by the commencement of the century was fully accomplished by the age of Photius, the most brilliant period of Byzantine learning. The example of this illustrious scholar¹, while it defied emulation, could not but have extensive influence. His efforts were well supported by the government. His friend, the Cæsar Bardas, the uncle and minister of Michael III., warmly encouraged learning: Basil, the first of the Macedonian emperors, was also a patron of letters; his son and his grandson were themselves authors. The languid industry of the Greeks was warmed into new activity by the genial rays of imperial favour. But it was the court², not the clergy, which communicated the impulse in this intellectual movement. And accordingly, though civil history was cultivated not only by the extensive compilations

¹ The life of Photius is minutely illustrated by Hankius (*de Byzant. Scriptoris*, pp. 269—396); and the able sketch of the history of Byzantine literature presented by the last pages of the fifty-third chapter of Gibbon, teems with the learning and prejudices which form the glory and the disgrace of the *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

² A large proportion of the Byzantine scholars of this and the following ages were laymen. The circumstance deserves to be noticed; as it establishes the important fact, that the educated laity among the Greeks were in no way more exempt from the faults and weaknesses of the times, than the ecclesiastics.

which were superintended by Constantine Porphyrogenitu¹, but by the composition of several original works², little was written expressly on the history of the Church. The Chronicle³ of GEORGIUS HAMARTOLUS, which bears more of the Ecclesiastical character than any historical work which appeared after the first years of the ninth century, was written by one who had not been affected by the spirit of his time. And the monographies of PHOTIUS⁴, PETRUS SICULUS⁵, and NICETAS PAPHLAGO⁶, belong

¹ Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 490.

² Most of those which have been printed are contained in Combesis's *Scriptores post Theophanem*. Leo Grammaticus, Josephus Genesisius, and other writers, have also been published. But the historians of this period are pronounced by Scylitzes to be greatly inferior to their predecessors. Ap. Bibl. Coislin. p. 208.

³ *Χρονικὸν σύντομον ἐκ διαφόρων χρονογράφων τε καὶ ἐξηγητῶν συλλεγόν, καὶ συντεθέν ὑπὸ Γεωργίου Ἀμαρτωλοῦ μοναχοῦ*. It has never been printed; but Hody says (*Prolegomena ad Joannem Malalam*, num. xli.) that it comes down to the end of the reign of Michael III., A.D. 866. Several MSS. are still in existence. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 155. I owe all I know of it to Leo Allatius. *Diatriba de Georgiis*, apud Fabr. Bibl. Græc. tom. x. p. 641—650.

⁴ *Narratio de Manichæis recens repullulantibus*. Ap. Bibl. Coislin. pp. 349—375. Wolfii *Anecdota Græca*, tom. i. pp. 1—141. Gallandii Bibl. PP. tom. xiii.

⁵ *Petri Siculi Historia*, edit. Rader. Ingolstadii, 1604. I have said more of these works of Photius and Petrus Siculus elsewhere. Letter to the Rev. S. R. Maitland on the Opinions of the Paulicians, p. 23, et seq.

⁶ *Vita S. P. N. Ignatii Archiep. CPolitani*. Ap. Concil.

as much to polemics as to history. We should have had little cause to regret that Church-history was neglected by an age which was unable to appreciate moral dignity and beauty; but we may justly complain, when what was done for this branch of knowledge directly tended to deteriorate and pervert it. The simple and often uncouth biographies which communicated to the Church the virtues and sufferings of her worthies, were despised by a people who had less regard for truth than for the laboured affectation of an artificial rhetoric. In the early part of the tenth century¹, SIMEON META-

tom. viii. col. 1180—1260. Some other pieces printed with the acts of the eighth Council, illustrate the Ecclesiastical history of the ninth century, or rather exhibit the views and principles of the Anti-Photian party. Hankius (p. 251—269) has done the authors the honour of ranking them among the Byzantine historians.

¹ The quality and age of Simeon Metaphrastes have been subjects of much controversy. Schröckh (*Kirchengeschichte*, xxviii. 187—192) adopts the opinion of Oudin and the earlier Protestant critics, in thinking him to have been an ecclesiastic, and to have lived at all events as late as the twelfth century. On the other hand, Hankius (*de Script. Byzant.* pp. 418—460), Cave (*Hist. Lit. ad an. 901*), Fabricius (*Bibl. Græc.* vi. 509. ix. 48, not. b), and Gieseler (*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 2 Bd. 1 Abtheil. S. 349), and all the Roman Catholic writers since the middle of the seventeenth century, follow Leo Allatius in regarding him as a layman of high rank, who wrote in the reigns of Leo Sapiens and Constantinus Porphyrogenitus. The evidence appears to me greatly to preponderate in favour of the latter opinion.

PHRASTES¹ was employed by the emperor² to re-write, in a popular and attractive manner, the lives of the Saints and Martyrs. He executed his commission by compiling from the ancient narratives a number of laboured and ostentatious panegyrics, contemptible for their false taste, and noxious for the fabulous circumstances and superstitious opinions which he has interwoven³ with the original

¹ He derives this surname from the nature of his works. *Scriptiones sive ab ipso, sive ab aliis vocatæ sunt Metaphrases. . . . Dictæ quod ex una phrasi, dicendique modo in alium delatæ sunt. Hinc ipse postea sub Metaphrastæ nomen posteris innotuit. Leonis Allatii de Simeonum Scriptis Diatriba, p. 73.*

² *Φασι γέ τοι μηδὲ ἐκ παρέργου τοῦτον ἦφθαι τοῦ πράγματος, μηδὲ αὐτὸν προθέμενον, εἰ μὴ ὅσον βούλεσθαι· Βασιλεῖοι δὲ τοῦτον παρακλήσεις ἐπὶ τοῦτο προήνεγκαν, καὶ οἷς ἐφροντίζετο λόγος καὶ σύρεις.* Pselli *Metaphrastis Laudatio*, ap. L. Allat. ut supra, p. 233.

³ Bellarmine, in his work “*de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*,” says, “*Illud autem observandum, a Metaphraste scriptas fuisse Historias de Vitis Sanctorum multis additis ex proprio ingenio, non ut res gestæ fuerant, sed ut geri potuerant: addit enim Metaphrastes multa colloquia, sive dialogos Martyrum cum persecutoribus, aliquas etiam conversiones adstantium paganorum in tanto numero, ut incredibiles videantur. Denique miracula plurima, et maxima in eversione Templorum, et Idolorum, quorum nulla est mentio apud Veteres Historicos.*” The candour of the great controversialist sadly scandalizes Bolland (*Præfat. General. in Acta SS. cap. i. § iii. tom. i. Januarii*), and Leo Allatius (ut supra, p. 43, et seq.), whose appetite for legendary story was much too keen to allow them to give up the wonders of the Metaphrast without a struggle. But we

materials. His ill-employed labour inflicted on Church-history is a deep and lasting injury; for the compositions, which were written in accordance with the feelings and notions of the day, soon superseded the less obtrusive works, which possessed a really historic value. The greater part of the lives of the Eastern saints, which have come down to us, have unfortunately passed through the hands of Simeon or his imitators: and it is now too often the chief business of the Ecclesiastical critic to distinguish between the evidence of the ancient biographers and the fables of the Metaphrast¹.

The Eastern empire, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, afforded few subjects of Ecclesiastical history. The intrigues of the court and the movements of the barbarians alone attracted the notice of the annalist; and accordingly we find that JOANNES SCYLITZES, an officer of high rank in the imperial household, who about the year 1057 wrote a continuation² of Syncellus and Theophanes, has

may only blush or sigh at the weaknesses of such men. The latter especially ought not to be mentioned by the student of the later Greek Ecclesiastical history but with respect and gratitude. That admirably learned, but prejudiced and violent, writer, has shown in his *Diatriba de Simeonibus*, and his other similar works, what genius and erudition can do for the most unpromising subjects. In the hands of Leo Allatius, a catalogue becomes a history.

¹ Appendix, Note CC.

² His *Compendium Historiarum* (Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν) extending from 811 to 1057, has been printed only in a Latin

much less claim than his predecessors to be ranked among the Ecclesiastical historians. The work¹ of GEORGIUS CEDRENUS, a monk who wrote at the same period, contains indeed much Ecclesiastical information : but he cannot be regarded as an independent writer, for he does but transcribe for the most part the very words of Syncellus, Theophanes, and Scylitzes.

The age of the Comneni, which witnessed another revival of a literary spirit in the Eastern empire, was not more productive than the period we have just reviewed, of works expressly written on the history of the Church. Distinguished for his knowledge of canonical law, and other subjects of an Ecclesiastical nature, was JOANNES ZONARAS ; who, after having enjoyed high secular dignities, was in-

version (see Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 387) ; but the supplement which he wrote at a later period of his life, and which comes down to 1081, is printed in the original with Georgius Cedrenus ;—Paris, 1647 ; Venice, 1729. The preface of the larger work, also, is printed in Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, p. 207, 208. It is of importance, as it enumerates, and, as I have already observed (p. 82), reviews somewhat superciliously the historians who had written since the time of Theophanes.

¹ Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν. The extent to which this work is a compilation is quite curious. It might be thought from the words of the introduction, *προσθέντες καὶ ὅσα ἀγράφως ἐκ παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐδιδάχθημεν*, that there must be some original matter ; but these very words, with almost all the preface, are transcribed from Scylitzes, ap. Bibl. Coislin. ut supra. There are, however, some passages which are not borrowed from the three writers I have mentioned.

duced by severe domestic afflictions¹ to exchange the court for the monastery, and employed his leisure in historical composition. We still possess his Chronicle², extending from the creation to the year 1118, which carefully records the principal facts of Church-history. But though he deserves mention, as having contributed to keep up a general acquaintance with the subject, it must be confessed that he has scarcely a greater claim to our notice than several other writers whose works occur in the long series of the Byzantine historians.

I may here remark, that the Christians of the East, who lived beyond the limits of the empire, did not entirely neglect historical pursuits. In their cruel bondage to the Moslem conquerors they occasionally contributed to the knowledge of Church-history. Two writers especially deserve to be mentioned. The one, Said Ebn-Batrach, more generally known by his Greek name, EUTYCHIUS³, who was

¹ Οὕτω τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκονομήσαντος τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς δεσμούς μου διέρρηξε, τῶν φιλάτων στερήσας με, οἷς οἶδεν ἐκεῖνος λόγοις, ἀλγυνῶς μὲν ἐμοί, συμφερόντως δ' ὅμως, are the beautiful and touching words in which he describes them, p. 1.

² Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀσκητοῦ τοῦ Ζωνάρα γεγονότος τοῦ μεγάλου Δρουγγαρίου τῆς Βίγλας, καὶ Πρωτοασηκρήτις Χρονικόν. The Paris edition is due to the illustrious Du Cange.

³ Huic a natalibus nomen fuit *Said Ebn-Batrach*, sive *Said filius Patricii*, qui Patriarcha factus *Eutychius* maluit nominari, cum *Said* Arabice idem significet quod *Eutychius* Græce et Latine *Fortunatus*. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, tom. ii. col. 476. The Melchites affected Greek in every thing. Thus

Melchite, or orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria, from 933 to 940, has handed down, in his "Annals¹," some curious traditional notices of the early history of his Church, and has communicated much important contemporary information. The other, Gregorius Ben-Hebræus², or Abulpharagius (أَبُلْفَرَاغِيّ), does not properly belong to the period included in this section. He was an ecclesiastic of high rank among the Syrian Jacobites, who wrote his "History of the Dynasties³" towards the end of the thirteenth

fondly perpetuating the memory of their ancient connection with the empire.

¹ "Annales ab Orbe condito ad annum usque 940;" written in Arabic. Selden first edited a small portion of it with the title, "Eutychiei Patr. Alexandrini Ecclesiæ suæ Origines, Londini, 1642." The whole was edited by Pocock, Oxon. 1659. See Appendix, Note DD.

² His father was a converted Jew, and he himself was Maphrian, or primate of the east. Le Quien, Oriens Christ. tom. ii. col. 1412. Gregorius Bar-hebræus, qui et Abulpharagius, scriptorum Jacobitarum facile princeps, patria Melitensis, patre Aaron medico, anno Græcorum 1537. Christi 1226, natus est, ex quo Bar-hebræi, hoc est Hebræi filii cognomentum traxit. Assemani, Bibl. Oriental. tom. ii. cap. xlii. p. 244.

³ It was first introduced to the public by the "Specimen Historiæ Arabum" (Oxon. 1650) of Pocock; who afterwards edited the whole; "Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum," Oxon. 1663. These however both exhibited only the text of the Arabic translation, which Abulpharagius made of his own work. The first part of the original Syriac was printed from a Bodleian MS. at Leipzig, in 1789, and very copious extracts from the remainder are given by Assemani. Bibl. Oriental. tom. ii. cap. xlii. pp. 244—463.

century. His work is deservedly esteemed for the facts which it has preserved, respecting the nations of the East; and it is especially valuable to the student of Church-history, on account of the information which it affords respecting the various sects of Oriental Christians.

SECTION IV.

FROM THE PONTIFICATE OF INNOCENT III., A.D. 1198, TO THE
REFORMATION, A.D. 1517.

MARCH OF INTELLECT—SCHOLASTICISM—NICEPHORUS CALLISTI—
BARTHOLOMEW OF LUCCA—ANTONINUS OF FLORENCE—THE
REVIVAL OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE—LAURENTIUS VALLA—
PLATINA—TRITHEMIUS—ALBERT KRANTZ—THE HARBINGERS
OF THE REFORMATION.

In spite of the prejudices which a fastidious affectation and an indiscriminating ignorance have thrown in the way of a fair estimate of the true character of the middle ages, it has generally been acknowledged that a new state of things had commenced at the beginning of the thirteenth century; and that, thenceforth, the social and literary condition of Europe rapidly tended towards the forms presented by modern society. The crusades aroused the imagination, and the universities awakened the spirit of speculation; and the very same era witnessed the first efforts of the Troubadours and the School-

men. Art was powerfully affected by the same impulse. The architects, whose vocation it was to express the feelings of the times, almost simultaneously abandoned the stern and massive forms which suitably represented the severe spirit of the earlier system, for lighter and more imaginative inventions; and reared first the chaste and elegant fabrics which charm us by their simple beauty, and then those sublime and gorgeous piles which overpower us at once by magnificence of design and exuberance of ornament. The political changes which were the consequences of the altered character of the period, reacted in accelerating the intellectual development. As the feudal aristocracy gave way before the power of the sovereign and the many, superior minds in every rank were able readily to find a congenial employ, and Western Europe rapidly proceeded towards general refinement.

But the very nature of the new pursuits, fascinating and engrossing as they were, tended to delay for a while the improvement of those which had exercised the industry of earlier times. History therefore was still only the chronicle;—ecclesiastical history was not yet again treated as a separate branch of knowledge. The doctors of the time were almost exclusively engaged in the active cultivation of the scholastic theology; and in the illustration and perversion of Christian doctrine, the schoolmen, as it is well known, followed the

logical method, to the absolute neglect of historical inquiry.

The most important work on the general history of the Church, which appeared during the period on which we have now entered, proceeded from the east. And it is a remarkable fact, that the latter days of the Byzantine empire should have produced a longer work, and one constructed with a stricter reference to the original principles of Ecclesiastical history, than any which had been written on the subject, either in the east or west, since the end of the sixth century. The work¹ to which I allude, is that of NICEPHORUS CALLISTI XANTHOPULI. We know nothing of the circumstances of his life, except the few particulars which are furnished by his writings. He tells² us that he was brought up in the church of St. Sophia, where he enjoyed the use of an extensive library; and the dedication of his work to the emperor Andronicus Palæologus the elder, who died in 1327, shows that it could not have been published later

¹ Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας Βιβλία ιη'. Edit. Frontonis Ducæi, Lut. Paris. 1630. In two volumes folio. A Latin version by Jo. Langus, was printed at Basil as early as 1553. But this is the only edition of the Greek text, which was printed from a manuscript (supposed to be the only one in existence) which belonged to the king of Hungary, and after having been carried by the Turks to Constantinople, at last came into the imperial library at Vienna. See Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 131.

² Appendix, Note EE.

than the early part of the fourteenth century. He began his Ecclesiastical history at the age of five and thirty¹. Each of the eighteen books of which it consists, commences with one of the letters which compose his name. (Νικηφόρος Καλλίστου.) In the form in which we possess it, it extends from the Incarnation (ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπιφανείας) to the death of Phocas (610). But he gives us in his preface the arguments of five books more, which would have brought it down to the year 911. And he further intimates that his plan would not be completed till it was brought down nearly to his own time². There is, however, no evidence that he ever fully executed his design. We probably possess all that he accomplished. It is evident from his remarks³, that he was himself aware that the difficulties of his undertaking would increase when he lost the guidance of preceding historians, and would have to collect materials for his narrative entirely from documents and memoirs. The manner in which he has executed what he actually performed, makes us regret that he did not proceed further. Though he amply partook of

¹ Νέοι ὄντες ἡμεῖς καὶ μήπω ἔκτου καὶ τριακοστοῦ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπιβάντες ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἡνίκα τῇ πραγματείᾳ ἐαυτοὺς ἐκδεδώκαμεν, τὸ προκείμενον διηγήσαμεν. Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. i. p. 43. B.

² Εἴτα καὶ ὅσα τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα παραλείπεται χρόνῳ, προσθεῖναι μάλα βιάσσομαι· μικρὸν ἄνωθεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου τὴν ἱστορίαν διαπεραίνων. Lib. i. cap. i. p. 37, A.

³ Appendix, Note FF.

the superstition of the age in which he lived, and paraphrased the writers from whom he derived his information in the affected and extravagant style characteristic of the later Greeks¹, he has transmitted some important facts, of which we should, without him, have remained in ignorance. He was eloquent, diligent, and inquisitive, though destitute of judgment and discrimination; and the critics have significantly marked the opinion they have entertained of his labours, by calling him, for the elegance of his style, the ecclesiastical Thucydides, and for his credulity, the theological Pliny².

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the intellect of western Europe was almost exclusively exercised in the pursuits to which I have already referred; and the work of the Italian Dominican, BARTHOLOMEW of Lucca³, appears to have

¹ Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 131. Nicephorus Callisti was the last Greek writer of Ecclesiastical History. But the works of Nicetas Choniates, Georgius Pachymeres, Joannes Cantacuzenus, Nicephorus Gregoras, Georgius Codinus, and others which are printed in the Corpus Hist. Byzant., all throw more or less light on the history of the eastern church from the Latin conquest in 1204, to the extinction of the empire (1453). The documentary and other materials are also abundant. A considerable accession to what had been printed before, has been furnished, within the last few years, in the Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio (Romæ, 1825—33) of Mai, and the Anecdota Græca (Parisiis 1829—33) of Boissonade.

² Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vi. 130.

³ Ptolomæi Lucensis Ordinis Prædicatorum Episcopi postea Torcellani Historia Ecclesiastica a Nativitate Christi usque ad

been the only one¹ which under the title of an Ecclesiastical history, professed to record the fortunes of the Church. The succeeding century commenced under circumstances more favourable to the cultivation of Church-history. The controversies with Wicliff and Huss, and the councils of Constance, Basil, and Florence, led the more inquiring minds to the study of Christian antiquity. Scholasticism had lost the charm of novelty, and was no longer animated by the power of living genius. So strong became the demand for Ecclesias-

annum mcccxii. Nunc primum edita a duobus MStis codicibus Ambrosiano et Patavino. Accedunt diversa duorum continuatorum additamenta ex iisdem codicibus deprompta. Apud Muratorii Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Tom. xi. pp. 741—1242. All that is known of the author may be found in Muratori's preface, p. 743—750. His work is strictly an Ecclesiastical history, arranged chiefly in the form of annals; but the later books notice almost exclusively the transactions affecting the Popes and the states of Italy. It is written in a rude style, but it deserves attention as the first attempt which was made in the West to restore the distinction between civil and Ecclesiastical history. I have transcribed a passage of some length, in which the author describes his object and materials, in the Appendix, Note FF.*

¹ The general neglect of Ecclesiastical history strikingly appears in the Golden Legend which was compiled by Jacobus de Voragine (Giacomo di Viraggio), a Dominican who was Archbishop of Genoa from 1292 to 1298, at the end of the thirteenth century. It is a memorable illustration of the ignorance and superstition which were propagated by the craft and fanaticism of the Mendicants.

tical information, that one of the last of the eminent schoolmen was led to stoop from speculation to fact, and attempt to supply the public appetite for historical information. This writer was ANTONINUS, a Dominican friar, who was raised to the archiepiscopal see of Florence in the year 1446, and who enjoyed such a high reputation for sanctity, that he has been canonized. His *Sum of History* (*Summa Hystorialis*) extends from the creation to the year 1459, and is the largest historical work which was written during the Middle Ages¹. It has been repeatedly printed in three large folio volumes; of which the first concludes with the reign of Constantine, the second with the pontificate of Innocent III., and the third comes down to the year of the writer's death. Its magnitude is not the only circumstance for which it is remarkable. It displays a spirit of research, and a taste for historical investigation hitherto almost unknown in the West; and though completely superseded by the works written in the following century, it deserves to be regarded as a work of considerable importance in the progress of Ecclesiastical history.

But Antoninus had been brought up under a

¹ The edition I have consulted is that of Nuremburg, 1484; but Fabricius (*Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætatis*, i. 313) mentions nine others; and I learn from Dr. Gieseler, that it was printed in an edition of his works at Florence, 1741. *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. 2. Abth. 4. S. 1.

state of things which was now rapidly passing away. The fifteenth century is in many respects the most memorable period in the history of literature. It was an age of transition and revolution, combining in itself several of the most striking characteristics of the two states of society between which it forms the interval. The ancient literature was suddenly roused from its long slumber. Animated by the spirit of communities which were still in the vigour of their existence, and consequently uniting the energy and enthusiasm of romanticism, with the grace and dignity of the classical schools, it proudly entered upon its new vocation, and with the help of the newly invented art of Printing, rapidly achieved a complete and signal triumph over the native literature of the German nations. The excitement was universal; every department of knowledge felt its influence; and very few felt it earlier than Church-history¹.

The Italian scholars were the first to apply the new learning to Ecclesiastical subjects. LAURENTIUS VALLA², justly celebrated as one of the most learned

¹ Our own countrymen have done much to illustrate the literary condition of this period. To the names of Hody (*De Græcis Illust.*), and Roscoe (*Lorenzo de' Medici*), we may now add that of Mr. Hallam (*Hist. of Literature*).

² *Laurentii Vallensis, Patritii Romani, de falso credita et ementita Constantini Donatione Declamatio*. It was written about the middle of the fifteenth century, and first printed in

and active among the scholars who contributed to the revival of the study of classical antiquity, deserves our notice as undoubtedly the earliest writer who employed the principles of modern criticism in the elucidation of facts of Ecclesiastical history. His "Declamation on the pretended Donation of Constantine," which was written about the middle of the fifteenth century to disprove the authenticity of that famous fabrication, may be considered as marking an era in the progress of Church-history. It is a work, which, considering the time when it was written, must be regarded as doing honour to the acuteness and courage of the accomplished author, and which evinces the existence of a strong disposition to examine the claims of the Ecclesiastical authorities in the light furnished by a knowledge of antiquity. The boldness with which Valla exposed the encroachments of the Popes, is the more remarkable from the contrast which it presents to the timid caution with which the most sceptical of his countrymen have generally avoided an open collision with the spirituality.

The well-known work ¹ of Bartholomæus Platina

1517. The importance of this work has induced me to transcribe a passage of some length. It occurs near the beginning, and is a fair specimen of the author's tone and principles. Appendix, Note GG.

¹ B. Platinæ Cremonensis Opus, de Vitis ac Gestis Summorum Pontificum ad Sixtum IV. Pont. Max. deductum. Fideliter a litera ad literam denuo impressum, secundum duo

on "the Lives and Actions of the Popes," though written in the court of Rome by one who had felt the power and enjoyed the favour of successive pontiffs¹, breathes, upon the whole, a spirit of freedom. It was the first historical work written upon an Ecclesiastical subject, after the revival of letters, in a correct and elegant Latinity, and though it displays no great research, is often inaccurate, and in the latter part expresses the affection and resentment of the author so openly, as greatly to weaken its credibility, was certainly a step in the progress of Ecclesiastical history.

A classical style of composition was as yet almost confined to Italy, and the scholars of the north who contributed to the cultivation of Church-history, were content to express themselves in language which Southern refinement had already denounced as barbarous. Their labours were not, however, of less importance. We are able to trace among them the gradual increase of a disposition to confine Ecclesiastical history within its ancient and proper

Exemplaria, quorum unum fuit vivente adhuc auctore, anno mccccclxxix. alterum anno mdxxix. Few books have been more frequently printed: this is the title of the very neat edition of 1645.

¹ He was patronized by Pius II., treated with great severity by Paul II., and made librarian of the Vatican by Sixtus IV. He was born in 1421, and died in 1481. *Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætatis*, tom. v. 888. *Schröckh, Kirchengeschichte*, Th. xxxii. S. 326—335.

limits. The learned and laborious JOHN OF TRITTENHEIM, better known by his latinized name Trithemius¹, who was abbot of Spanheim in 1483, and died abbot of Wurtzburg in 1518, is amply entitled to the gratitude of those who feel interested in this branch of knowledge. His “Annals of the Monastery of Hirschau²,” and other similar works, are noble monuments of industry and learning; and his “Catalogue of the Ecclesiastical Writers” furnished the foundation of the attempts of more modern scholars to illustrate the literary history³ of the Church. About the same period another

¹ Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. *Ætatis*, tom. iv. p. 451—469.

² Appendix, Note HH.

³ Non indictus mihi inter tot Joannes prætereundus est Joannes Trithemius, cui mecum tam multa debent et debebunt, quotquot Historiam litterariam post eum tractare vel aggredi-entur vel aggressi sunt. Ille nobis Gesnerum dedit, cujus Bibliothecæ, liber Trithemii de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis totus insertus, primas lineas duxisse merito est existimandus. Ejus Viri tot sunt etiam in Historiam Civilem et Ecclesiasticam, Germaniæ præsertim nostræ merita, ut grati hoc eum animi officium præstare velim libenter, scriptorumque ejus notitiam plenius atque accuratius tradere. Fabr. ut supra, p. 451. The title of my copy of this work of Trithemius is;—De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis. Disertissimi viri Johannis de Trittenham abbatis Spanhemensis de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis collectanea: additis nonnullorum ex recentioribus vitis et nominibus: qui scriptis suis hac nostra tempestate clariores evaserunt. Parrhisiis, 1512. This according to Fabricius is the third edition. The first was printed at Mentz in 1494.

learned German too, ALBERT KRANTZ¹, who was dean of Hamburg at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and died in 1517, distinguished himself by his historical labours. His "*Metropolis*," which is an Ecclesiastical history of the north of Germany, from the reign of Charlemagne to his own time, and his other works on Ecclesiastical subjects, contain much valuable information, and are remarkable for giving expression² to the spirit which was now soon to produce the Reformation.

The eminent men who exercised the greatest influence in the intellectual revolution of the fifteenth century, were more employed in recovering and illustrating the ancient authors, than in the composition of original works. The learned Greeks and Italians who bore so great a part in the revival of classical literature, indirectly, indeed, rendered important service to the cause of Church-history. And

¹ Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. *Ætatis*, tom. i. p. 104.

² Alberti Krantzii, *Rerum Germanicarum Historici clarissimi, Ecclesiastica Historia, sive Metropolis*. Francofurti, 1590. Appendix, Note II.

³ Er erkennt in mehreren Stellen seiner Schriften die gewaltige Ausartung der Bischöfe von ihrer ersten Bestimmung; tadelt die Lebensart der weltlichen (*secularium*) *Canonicorum* mit Heftigkeit; giebt zu verstehen, dass die ungeheure Macht der Päpste, auch in weltlichen Angelegenheiten, von neuerm Ursprunge sey, und ist mit dem abergläubischem Religions-cärimoniel nicht zufrieden. Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, Th. xxx. S. 349.

the theological scholars of the next generation, such as Erasmus and Vivés, who were so influential in directing their contemporaries to patristical studies, more immediately contributed to the same object. But it was their business to clear the ground, and collect materials, for their successors. The effect of their editorial and critical labours was soon apparent. They laid the axe to the root of the corruptions of the Church, and prepared the way for an unbounded liberty of discussion. The study of the materials of Church-history, which had been so greatly facilitated by the exertions of these eminent men, essentially contributed to break the spell which the see of Rome had laid upon the public mind. The usurped power of the Popes had indeed been greatly impaired by a century and a half of intrigue, disorder, and schism. The time when an Ecclesiastical monarchy could exercise a salutary influence had passed away. The Romish system had exchanged ambition and the love of rule, the vices of the age of maturity, for avarice and jealousy, the passions characteristic of decay. Its tyranny had made it terrible, its exactions made it hateful¹, its corruptions, which were rudely exposed² by the

¹ The spirit which prevailed so remarkably in the great councils of the beginning of the fifteenth century, was never extinguished. Germany was from the first conspicuous in its opposition to the Papal exactions. Appendix, Note JJ.

² Appendix, Note KK.

buoyant spirit of youthful literature, made it contemptible. And it now required only a well-directed effort to lay in ruins the mighty fabric which had been reared and maintained by the incessant labour of a thousand years.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

SECTION I.

FROM 1517 TO 1667.

EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION—M. F. ILLYRICUS—CATALOGUS
TESTIUM—MAGDEBURG CENTURIES—BARONIUS—EFFECTS OF
THE CENTURIES AND THE ANNALS—OSIANDER—BZOVIVS—
SPONDANUS—RAYNALDUS—EPITOMISTS OF BARONIUS—GODEAU
—HOTTINGER.

THE agencies which had been long in operation at length produced the great catastrophe, and the illustrious Saxon, in a voice of thunder, denounced the corruptions of the Church. The revolutions which had hitherto affected the condition of Christianity, however important, appear positively insignificant, when compared with the wonderful convulsion which rent half Europe from the ancient system, and gave birth to a new style of thought and feeling in the civilized world. The Reforma-

tion—the most memorable event in the fortunes of the Church since the conversion of Constantine, which is never mentioned even now without awakening feelings of deep regret or lively congratulation—soon gave a new aspect and character to Church-history. The disputants on both sides at once felt its importance. The whole question between them was one of history. The reformers maintained that the abettors of the papacy had during a long season of ignorance grievously corrupted the simplicity of the Gospel by false doctrine and superstition. It was their business, therefore, to show that the notions and practices which they denounced as innovations, were unsanctioned by the New Testament, and unknown to the early Church. The friends of the prevailing system, on the other hand, charged their opponents with holding strange and monstrous opinions, and were, therefore, bound to prove, that what they themselves taught was taught in Scripture, and had been inculcated by the doctors of antiquity. But though both parties immediately betook themselves to this department of the argument, it was some time before the Reformation can be said to have produced any systematic work on the history of the Church. The Romanists, ever anxious to argue the questions in dispute on scholastic principles, did not feel the want of a new work on the subject; and the first champions on the side of the reformers were too much engaged in propagating and defending their opinions, and in

building up new systems, to have leisure for a large and difficult undertaking. It was not, therefore, for nearly forty years after Luther's first efforts, that we discover the existence of a new school of Church-history.

MATTHIAS FLACIUS ILLYRICUS¹, the founder of this school, was one of the most conspicuous members of the second generation of Protestant divines, and distinguished himself among his contemporaries

¹ His real name was Matthias Francowitz. He was born in 1520 at Albona, a town in Istria, in the ancient Illyricum, from which circumstance he was called Illyricus. He first distinguished himself by his violent opposition to his patron, Melancthon, in the Adiaphoristic controversy in 1549. But his characteristic obstinacy was most fully exhibited by the tenet which he advanced in his controversy with Strigelius in 1560, that original sin is the very substance of human nature, which he could never be prevailed upon to abandon. He died at Frankfort in 1575. He is characterised by Mosheim as "*Vir turbulenti ingenii et ad rixas seminandas et propagandas natura factus.*" *Instit. Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xvi. sect. iii. Pars ii. cap. i. § xxxi. p. 657. edit. 1764.* Bp. Montague calls him "*Furiosum Theologum et insanum, prodigiosarum quarundam et monstrosarum opinionum inventorem, et acerrimum propugnatorem.*" *Apparat. ad Orig. Eccles. Præfat. § 52.* And Bayle says of him, "*C'étoit un homme qui avoit d'excellens dons, l'esprit vaste, beaucoup de savoir, un grand zèle contre le Papisme; mais son humeur turbulente, impétueuse, querelleuse, gâtoit toutes ses bonnes qualitez, et causoit mille desordres dans l'Eglise Protestante. Il ne faisoit pas difficulté de déclarer qu'il falloit tenir en respect les princes, par la crainte des séditions.*" *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, tom. ii. p. 839. edit. 1740.*

by the boldness with which he maintained the extreme consequences of the doctrines of Luther. The extravagance of his opinions, and the violence of his conduct in the controversies which divided the doctors of his time, have made him a prominent object in the history of Lutheranism, and caused posterity to adopt the opinion entertained of him by his most eminent contemporaries, and regard him as the firebrand of Protestant Germany. His learning was extensive, and his ardent zeal against the Romanists was increased by the departure, as he deemed it, of the Lutherans of the school of Melancthon from the original doctrines of the Reformation. He was impetuous and obstinate; and if there be any truth in a charge which is so commonly brought against him as to be connected with his very name, his love of knowledge was greater than his integrity¹. Moved by the constant taunt of the Romanists, that the Protestant doctrines were unknown before the time of Luther², he determined to make known to the world the opinions which had been expressed by learned and

¹ He is accused, on the authority of Melchior Adam, of making his way in disguise into the libraries of monasteries, and mutilating and stealing manuscripts. Cum integros auferre non posset libros, philyras tamen suo usui inservientes excidit; sic etiam, ut fraude resecta, *Culter Flacianus* fere in proverbium abierit. Sagittarii Introd. in Hist. Eccles. p. 766. I am sorry to say that Melchior Adam and Morhof seem to have felt little pity for the *lazy monks*. Sagittarius himself is more honest.

² Appendix, Note LL.

pious men before the Reformation respecting the corruptions of the Church; and in the year 1556 published his "Catalogue of Witnesses¹," with the professed intention of exhibiting the testimony of Ecclesiastical-history against the Church of Rome. Considering the difficulties which were to be encountered by the first writer on such a subject, the "Catalogus Testium" must be acknowledged to possess much merit as a work of research and learning. But the principles on which it is constructed, and the tone and spirit in which it is written, are in the highest degree unsatisfactory. It introduced into Church-history evils which have scarcely yet been remedied. It gave a popularity to prejudices which flourish, in some among ourselves at least, even now in almost their original vigour. According to Illyricus, who (to borrow an illustration used by a great man² on a different subject), turned into

¹ *Catalogus Testium Veritatis, qui ante nostram ætatem reclamarunt Papæ. Opus varia rerum, hoc præsertim tempore scitu dignissimum, cognitione refertum, ac lectu cum primis utile atque necessarium. Cum Præfatione Mathiæ Flacii Illyrici, qua operis hujus et ratio et usus exponitur. Basileæ.* The first edition, from which I transcribe this title, has no date in the title, but the colophon gives the date 1556. There was a second edition in 1562. The editions of 1597 and 1608 contain much additional matter, interwoven by the editor, Simon Goulart. But the Frankfort edition of 1666 exhibits the work as it was left by the author. See Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, tome ii. p. 840. (E.)

² Selden's *Table-Talk. Transubstantiation*, p. 155. edit. 1696.

logic the rhetoric of Luther and his first associates, the Pope is Anti-christ ; the Church of Christ ceased to exist as a visible community for several centuries, and the persons whom he brings forward as witnesses of the truth belonged to the seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to the image of Baal. Every charge which was made against the disorders of the clergy he represents as an attack upon the Romish Church. Every complaint which was made of the misconduct of individual prelates, he brings forward as a denunciation of the hierarchy. His manifest partizanship has led many judicious persons to regard with suspicion¹ several of the pieces which he has published as the genuine remains of antiquity ; and we can, at all events, excuse the disingenuousness with which he conducts his argument, only by making a very large allowance for the prejudices of the age, and the demoralizing influence of systematic controversy.

But the "Catalogus Testium" was not the principal effort of the industry of Illyricus in this department of learning. It seems rather to have been merely an attempt to call attention to the subject of Church-history, and prepare the way for a work of much

¹ Bayle contends that if he stole MSS. it does not follow that he corrupted them. But if the character of Illyricus had been high enough to be worth blackening, the ingenious sceptic would probably have discovered that a reputed thief is little likely to be regarded as a faithful editor. I am not aware, however, that there is any positive evidence of his fabricating documents : though it certainly is not satisfactory to depend on his sole authority.

higher pretensions, which he was already engaged in preparing for publication. As early as the year 1553, during his residence at Magdeburg, he had, in conjunction with Johann Wigand and Matthæus Judex, the pastors of that city, and other scholars, projected a new and extensive work on Ecclesiastical history. It appears to have been at once commenced ; and it was carried on by their united efforts as far as the end of the thirteenth century, with an energy and perseverance worthy of the magnitude and importance of the undertaking. The history of their labours is instructive and curious. They were well aware of the difficulties which they had to overcome, and though placed in circumstances by no means favourable for ensuring success, they were not discouraged, but took their measures with coolness and prudence. Men, whose obnoxious opinions had deprived them of their homes, or who were engaged in the active duties of the pastoral office, could expect to do little towards the accomplishment of a work such as they had projected, by solitary labour. Their own resources were limited, they were regarded with jealousy and contempt by the most powerful party among the Protestants of Germany. But the boldness and perseverance of Illyricus overcame every obstacle. He ransacked libraries in search of books and manuscripts. He solicited the pecuniary assistance of wealthy friends. A fund was raised, to which even kings and cities contributed, by the help of which a regular establish-

ment was organized and set in motion. But much was to be done after they had prepared their materials and erected their machinery. Several years elapsed before any part of the promised work appeared. It is not unlikely that the "Catalogus Testium" was brought out to allay the clamours of unreasonable subscribers. The enemies of Illyricus, justly irritated by his treatment of their master, Melancthon, did not neglect a favourable opportunity of annoying his party, and publicly insinuated that they had induced their friends to aid them in composing a work which was never to appear. The quarter from which this attack proceeded was too respectable to be despised; and the Magdeburg divines deemed it proper to reply. In the short and moderate apology for their delay they thus¹ describe the process employed in the com-

¹ De Ecclesiastica Historia, quæ Magdeburgi contextitur, Narratio, contra Menium, et Scholasticorum Wittebergensium Epistolas. This, however, did not satisfy the students of Wittenberg, who immediately replied in an ironical letter with the following superscription: Collegio Gubernatorum et Operariorum Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ nervosioris et plenioris, quæ Magdeburgi contextitur. *Quinque* Gubernatoribus et inspectoribus communibus, optimæ fidei hominibus, operarum et rationum magistris, pecuniæ et eleemosynarum divisoribus. *Inspectoribus* secundis, materiarum distributoribus, rerum iudicibus, partium collocatoribus, limatoribus et emendatoribus ordinariis. *Duobus* Magistris, ætate, doctrina et rectitudine iudicii præstantibus, rerum dijudicatoribus tertiis, narratoribus et historicis. *Septem* studiosis doctrina et iudicio mediocri præditis, anatomicis historiarum, seculorum consideratoribus, sollicitis et curiosis excerptoribus,

position of their work. Five directors (*gubernatores*) were appointed to manage the whole design; and ten paid agents supplied the necessary labour. Seven of these were well informed students, who were employed in making collections from the various pieces set before them. Two others more advanced in years, and of greater learning and judgment, arranged the matter thus collected, submitted it to the directors, and, if it was approved, employed it in the composition of the work. As fast as the various chapters were composed they were laid before certain inspectors selected from the number of the directors, who carefully examined what had been done, and made the necessary alterations. And, finally, a regular amanuensis made a fair copy of the whole¹.

At length, in the year 1559, appeared the first volume of their laborious undertaking². It was

apiculis sedulis et industriis, methodicis atque synopticis centuriatoribus. Et Amanuensi compositorum mundiori descriptori. Coss. Medicis, Theologis, Magistris, Scribis, Ideæ Ecclesiæ Comportatoribus, Universis et singulis, Scholastici Academiæ Wittebergensis S. D. It is a very severe and witty composition. As the Magdeburg writers had boasted of their disinterestedness in working for small pay, their spiteful assailants pathetically condole with them upon their not receiving a fair share of the spoil, which they affect to believe must have been embezzled by the rapacity of their master Illyricus.

¹ Appendix, Note MM.

² *Ecclesiastica Historia, integram Ecclesiæ Christi ideam, quantum ad Locum, Propagationem, Tranquillitatem, Doctrinam,*

printed at Basil¹. But the city in which the first part of it was composed² has given it a distinctive title, and the first great Protestant work on Church-

Hæreses, Ceremonias, Gubernationem, Schismata, Synodos, Personas, Miracula, Martyria, Religiones extra Ecclesiam, et statum imperii politicum attinet, secundum singulas Centurias perspicuo ordine complectens: singulari diligentia et fide ex vetustissimis et optimis historicis, patribus, et aliis scriptoribus congesta: Per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica. Basileæ per Joannem Oporinum, 1559—74; thirteen vols. fol. This is the title of the original edition, of which some of the volumes were printed more than once. The Epistle Dedicatory is subscribed by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Johannes Wigandus, Matthæus Judex, and Basilius Faber. Another edition, edited by Ludovicus Lucius, was published (also at Basil) in 1624; in which it was attempted by various omissions and interpolations to render the work more acceptable to the Reformed. At the beginning of the last century several learned Germans exerted themselves to procure a new edition; and six vols. 4to. extending to the middle of the fifth century, were actually published at Nuremburg, 1757—65, with prefaces by Baumgarten and Semler.

¹ The whole was printed at Basil in thirteen volumes, each containing the history of a century. The thirteenth volume appeared in 1574. Wigand, one of the most active of the Centuriators, is said to have continued the work through the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. But this continuation was never published. Stäudlin, *Geschichte und Literatur der Kirchengeschichte*, S. 144.

² According to Sagittarius (Intro. p. 245) the first four centuries and part of the fifth were composed at Magdeburg; the remainder of the fifth and the sixth at Jena; the seventh in the exile of the authors; the eighth in the dominions of the Dukes of Mecklenburg; and the rest in places in the Duchy of Weimar.

history has been always commonly known as the **MAGDEBURG CENTURIES**. It was in every point of view an extraordinary production¹. Though the first modern attempt to illustrate the history of the Church, it was written upon a scale which has scarcely been exceeded. It brought to light a large quantity of unpublished materials; and cast the whole subject into a fixed and regular form. One of its most remarkable features is the elaborate classification. This was, I believe, strictly original, and, with all its inconveniences, undoubtedly tended to introduce scientific arrangement and minute accuracy into the study of Church-history. Each century is treated separately, in sixteen heads or chapters². The first of these gives a general view of the history of the century; then follows, 2. The extent and propagation of the Church: 3. Persecution and tranquillity of the Church: 4. Doctrine: 5. Heresies: 6. Rites and ceremonies: 7. Government: 8. Schisms: 9. Councils: 10. Lives of bishops and doctors: 11. Heretics: 12. Martyrs:

¹ Appendix, Note NN.

² Cap. 1. *Propositio et argumentum cujusque Centuriæ*: 2. *De Loco et Propagatione Ecclesiæ*: 3. *De Persecutione et Tranquillitate Ecclesiæ*: 4. *De Doctrina Ecclesiæ*: 5. *De Hæresibus*: 6. *De Ritibus et Ceremoniis*: 7. *De Politia et Gubernatione Ecclesiæ*: 8. *De Schismatibus*: 9. *De Synodis*: 10. *De Episcoporum et Doctorum Vitis*: 11. *De Hæreticis*: 12. *De Martyribus*: 13. *De Miraculis*: 14. *De rebus Judaicis*: 15. *De aliis Religionibus extra Ecclesiam Christi*: 16. *De Motibus et Mutationibus in Imperiis Politicis*.

13. Miracles : 14. Condition of the Jews : 15. Other religions not Christian : 16. Political condition of the world. It must be confessed, however, that this very peculiarity rendered their work rather a collection of separate treatises than a compact and connected history.

The literary merit of the work of the Centuriators was long extolled in extravagant panegyric by the continental Protestants ; but later writers have expressed a more moderate and, as I conceive, a much more correct opinion of its value. The learned and very candid historian Schröckh says¹, " In a work which, as this is, was the first of its kind, which was written amid so many obstacles, and at a time when historical science first began to flourish, faults and imperfections could not altogether be avoided ; and it has some which are considerable. In the very outset, the order and method in which it is composed, are among the number. You find in it rather abundant materials for a history, arranged in certain classes, than an uninterrupted narrative of events. The matter itself is sometimes divided by an inconvenient separation. Though an account of the persecutions is given in the second chapter of every century, the martyrs of the same period first make their appearance in the twelfth. The heresies are described in the fifth chapter, the heretics not before the eleventh. Yet this fault of historical

¹ Kirchengeschichte, Th. i. S. 167, 168.

composition is much more tolerable than another, which extends over the whole work. It is the polemical tone, the attitude of the controversialist, which the authors have so often assumed. As soon as the historian allows himself to exhibit in this character, it is a sign that he begins to quit his proper position. It is fortunate if he quickly returns to it. But if he continues to turn a dispassionate narrative into a series of refutations, to combat with all who have assailed it, or used it to their own advantage, and to defend every little circumstance which he holds as true; he then not only wearies his readers, but, unconsciously, becomes partial, and is drawn beyond the strict truth. The authors of the Magdeburg Church-history regarded the work which they wished to write, as a support of polemical theology. They undertook it not merely as historians, but still more as divines, who wished to furnish their church with suitable weapons against its enemies. Thence comes the polemical form which they have given it in so many places. They take particular care to force from the Romish church the arguments which it wished to deduce from Church-history, to pursue it through the whole range of the subject, and to turn every thing to the advantage of the Evangelical Church. Much, therefore, we cannot deny, is just twisted to suit these particular views. These upright men certainly did not write with any dishonest purpose, but their zeal sometimes did it for them. This also is certain,

that they used as genuine many supposititious and doubtful pieces, and were not always so happy as we could wish in explaining passages of the ancients; that much is left in their accounts to supply, to settle, and to confirm. But criticism was then still in its infancy. Many writings of the Ecclesiastical doctors were printed, it is true, but uncorrected and full of faults: others as yet lay hid in manuscript; and the remaining materials of this branch of history came to light but sparingly. It must be added, however, that the justice which requires us to point out the deficiencies of this work, obliges us to acknowledge, that the greatest part of them are to be ascribed to the times in which it was undertaken."

Yet this, after all, is a mild judgment. We must not part with the Centuriators on these terms. Their industry and perseverance certainly deserve the highest praise. They encountered and vanquished difficulties of no ordinary kind. Out of huge masses of dispersed materials they were the first to form a compact and connected Church-history. Their design was not less admirable than it was original; and when we take into account all the circumstances, it is truly wonderful that they were able to do so much towards carrying it into execution. They worked without any model, save what had been formed by their own genius. To complain of their literary deficiencies would be unreasonable and ungrateful. It is the moral faults

of their work on which we are required to pass a harsh judgment. These were undoubtedly faults which were common in their time. But we may not excuse them. The fierce tone of hostility and sarcasm towards the clergy of earlier times—the bitter contempt for every expression of religious feeling which the authors disapproved—the unfairness and disingenuousness—the arrogance and presumption—the spirit of railing and evil speaking—the utter abuse of candour and charity—the complete want of sympathy with the piety which did not exactly correspond with a certain system—which prevail through their work, deserve the most severe condemnation¹. In spite of all its literary merits, a work so utterly destitute of moderation and impartiality could only indirectly serve the cause of truth. It set the unhappy example of writing Church-history in the most bigotted spirit of party, and at once marked it out as the devoted region which was henceforth to be the scene of incessant warfare.

Great as was the zeal of Illyricus and the Centuriators in the cause of the Reformation, their labours appear to have been at first received by the great body of Protestants with mistrust and jealousy. This was as it might have been expected. The progress of time tended to exasperate rather than appease their differences with the divines of Wit-

¹ The opinion expressed by Bishop Montague corresponds very nearly with that given above. See Appendix, Note OO.

temberg; and the Reformed had still less reason than the Melancthonists to approve works which omitted no opportunity of maintaining in their most obnoxious form the Lutheran peculiarities. Our countryman JOHN FOXE¹, though deeply indebted to Illyricus, deemed it prudent never to mention the "Catalogus Testium." And FRANÇOIS BOURGOING, a minister at Geneva, who published an Ecclesiastical History² in French in 1565, denies³, as far as he can, his obligations to the Centuriators, though his book is little more than a

¹ Acts and Monuments : London, 1563. His obligations to the "Catalogus Testium" have been amply shown by Mr. Maitland in his "Review of Fox the Martyrologist's History of the Waldenses." London, Rivingtons, 1837.

² L'Histoire Ecclesiastique, proposant l'entière et vraye forme de l'Eglise de Jesus Christ, et monstrant par bon ordre les lieux où elle a esté dressée, l'avancement, persécution et tranquillité d'icelle, les punitions des persécuteurs, la doctrine, les hérésies, les cérémonies, le gouvernement ecclésiastique, les schismes, les conciles, les personnes excellentes en l'Eglise, les hérétiques, les martyrs, les miracles, les affaires des Juifs, les religions hors l'Eglise, et l'estat politique des empires : fidèlement recueillie selon chasque centaine d'ans des plus anciens et meilleurs historiens et autres auteurs : et mise en François par François Bourgoing, ministre de la parole de Dieu. A Genève, de l'imprimerie de François Perrin, pour Artus Chauvin. Avec privilège. M.D.LXV. The copy from which I transcribe contains only the first four centuries, (in two volumes, folio,) and I cannot find that the work was ever carried further. The book must be rare, for it had not been seen by Walch. Bibl. Theol. iii. 124.

³ Appendix, Note PP.

translation of their work. But though personal and local circumstances deprived them, during their lives, of the reputation which they might have expected as the reward of their labours, they received all the compensation which could be afforded by the admiration of posterity. As the school of Melancthon passed away, the Magdeburg Centuries were appreciated with greater candour. The prevalence of a stricter theology was favourable to their influence, and they formed for more than a hundred years a work scarcely less than authoritative with Lutheran students. The scholars of other Protestant communities indeed sometimes whispered their discontent and disapprobation; but they submitted to consult an useful work, and were even willing from time to time to panegyryze a history which was regarded as an honour to the cause of the Reformation.

The adherents of the Church of Rome were not slow in coming forward to contest the ground thus boldly occupied by their opponents. Several of their most learned writers almost immediately attacked the work of the Centuriators, and ostentatiously exposed its faults and errors. But they were not satisfied with the efforts of a desultory controversy. A new engine had been introduced into religious warfare; they fought at a disadvantage till they could meet their adversaries with equal arms. It was felt that a large and ponderous

work, not less comprehensive than the mighty undertaking of their antagonists, was needed in support of their Romish views¹. Such a work was soon undertaken. ONUFRIUS PANVINIUS, one of the most learned Italians of his time, who died in 1568, is said to have collected materials for the history of the first two centuries²; and after his death the design which he had projected was zealously pursued by the still more celebrated Baronius.

CÆSAR BARONIUS was born in 1538, at Sora in the Terra di Lavoro, and was carefully educated at Naples and Rome. After having completed his studies in law and theology, he entered the newly-founded Congregation of the Oratory, of which he ultimately became the superior. Philip of Neri, the founder of that society, immediately perceived the talents of his young disciple, and induced him to devote his whole attention to the study of

¹ There were several Roman Catholic writers who wrote works on Church-history before Baronius; but their works are forgotten. There are few even among those best acquainted with the subject, who are acquainted with such writers as Rioche, D'Espence, and De Preaux. I have given the titles of their works in the Index of Ecclesiastical Historians.

² *Annalium Ecclesiasticorum Volumina duo, sive Centurias duas primores delineasse et primam eorum graphidem posuisse traditur* [Onufrius], quas deinde perfecit atque elaboravit Cæsar Baronius. Onufrii autographon in Bibl. Vaticana evolvisse se innuit Emanuel Schelstratenus. Fabr. Bibl. Lat. Med. et Infim. Ætatis, vol. v. p. 493.

Church-history¹. He appointed him to deliver lectures in refutation of the *Heretics*, and encouraged him to commit to writing the result of his historical studies. Seven times did the indefatigable student lecture upon the whole circle of his subject, and thirty years of the prime of life were devoted to the incessant prosecution of Ecclesiastical inquiry². Did his industry ever fail, or his exhausted spirits seek relief in a fresh employ, his venerable friend was at hand to stimulate his languid energy, and to urge him to confine himself to an undertaking so necessary for his Church³. Such was

¹ Cum ætate florente hujuscemodi studiis oblectaremur; qui Christi loco præpositus tunc nobis pater erat ad hæc impulit, invitos licet, cum plus oneris certe, quam nostræ imbecillæ vires ferre possent, imponeret: sicque triginta circiter annos in his pro viribus, Dei gratia favente, insudavimus: pæne enim imberbes eramus, cum hæc exordiremur, nunc undique canis aspersi hæc scribimus; semperque in Urbe versati, diversas, quæ in ea sunt, bibliothecas nobiles, Vaticanam præcipue, quam ditissimum rerum antiquarum penu, promptuariumque dicere consuevimus, perlustravimus, ac cum eruditis viris, quorum magna copia hic esse solet, omnia contulimus, modo consulentes, modo disserentes, unde magna facta est rebus nostris accessio. Præfat. in Annales Eccles. tom. i.

² For the account which I have given of Baronius I am principally indebted to Dupin, *Bibliothèque Eccles.* tom. xvii. pp. 1—4. Ittigius, *Hist. Eccles. Sel. cap.* tom. 1. Præfat. xi—xix. Sagittarius, *Introd. in Hist. Eccles.* p. 282. et seq. And above all to himself.

³ Adstabas jugiter operi, (he says in the “*Actio gratiarum*” prefixed to the eighth volume, apostrophizing his deceased

the origin of the “*Ecclesiastical Annals* ¹,” of which the first volume, containing the first century, appeared in 1588, and the twelfth and last, which ends with the year 1198, in 1607. Every facility had been afforded by the court of Rome for the satisfactory execution of this great work. The author was allowed free access to the books and manuscripts of the Roman libraries; and as he was himself little skilled in Greek, the pieces written in that language which were needed for his purpose, were translated for his use by other distinguished scholars. His labours were received with unbounded applause by the Ultramontane party, who were equally pleased with his learning and ingenuity, and his zealous vindication of the highest pretensions of the Roman see. In 1596 his services were rewarded by the purple, and soon after he was made librarian

friend,) *urgens præsentia, instabas verbis, durus semper (ignoscas si hoc dixero) diurni pensi existens exactor, adeo ut piaculum putares, si interdum ad alia enarranda divertissem, dum nec minimum quidem ab instituto deflectere patereris.*

¹ *Annales Ecclesiastici*, auctore Cæsare Baronio Sorano ex congregatione Oratorii. Romæ, 1588—1607. Besides this, Walch mentions the following editions. Antwerp. 1589, Mogunt. 1601, Venet. 1601, Rom. 1607, Colon. 1609, Antwerp. 1610, Colon. 1624, Antwerp. 1670, Antwerp. 1675, Venet. 1705, Lucæ, 1738. All in twelve volumes except the last, which in thirty-eight volumes contains not only the Annals of Baronius but the Continuation of Raynaldus and the Critica of Pagi, and is illustrated by the notes of the learned editors, D. G. and J. D. Mansi.

of the Vatican. But his extravagant notions of the Papal authority found less favour beyond the Alps. Cardinal Perron, jealous for the Gallican liberties, would allow his work no other praise than that of labour¹. And the court of Spain so deeply resented his imprudent attempt to revive the Papal claims on the kingdom of Sicily², as successfully to exert itself upon the death of Clement VIII., to prevent his obtaining the triple crown.

Though Baronius was too prudent to give importance to the labours of the Centuriators by frequently making direct allusion to their statements, there is no doubt that he wrote with the express object of counteracting the effects of their work³.

¹ Sagittar. Introd. p. 297.

² In his *Tractatus de Monarchia Siciliæ*, inserted in the eleventh volume, which was published in 1605, and was in consequence proscribed by an edict of the king of Spain, Philip III.

³ In the preface to the first volume, he alludes to the Centuriators without naming them. *Fuere e recentioribus nonnulli ab Ecclesia Catholica extorres, qui antiquorum res gestas se collecturos professi, nihil aliud conati sunt, nisi ut mendacia coacervantes, aditum hunc nobis apertum obstruerent, et patentem viam regiam impedirent; et perinde ac si adversus veritatem junctis armis bellum jurassent, falsissima quæque cumularunt, omniaque immutarunt, ac prorsus inverterunt, nihil aliud molientes, quam novam turrim confusionis, ad cælum si fieri possit pertingentem, qua adversus Deum et Sanctos ejus dimicarent, cæco perciti furore, construere . . . Sed ad horum conatus infringendos, commenta detegenda, ac imposturas aperiendas, non multa opus est consultatione, vel facto. Satis superque puto, si germana illa ac sincera Ecclesiæ vultus imago ex*

This gave a controversial character to his undertaking which ill accords with the dignity of history. And independently of this, his position and principles were quite fatal to a fair and candid exhibition of the history of the Church. Determined to find in every age the existence of an Ecclesiastical monarchy, and the opinions and practices of modern Rome, he makes havoc of the primitive history, and grievously distorts the Christian Antiquities. Every fact is extended upon the bed of Procrustes, and cruelly stretched or curtailed at the will of the literary tyrant. Every witness must freely bear his

antiquo prototypo demonstretur ; cujus tantum inspectione nullo negotio fiet, ut portenti turpissimi simulacrum, cujusnam imaginem referat, cognoscatur. In hoc igitur nobis omni diligentia incumbendum, ut in primum illud exemplar semper mentis oculos intendentes, Ecclesiæ effigies illa pristina pristino decori formæque reddatur, quæ suo splendore sic tenebras disjiciat, caliginemque dispellat, ut oculi intuentium maxima cum jucunditate clarissimo veritatis aspectu perfruantur. p. 1. Edit. Antverp. 1610. In the *Gratiarum Actio* to his friend Philip of Neri, in the eighth volume, he speaks of their work by name. Ubi mente illa tua divino perfusa lumine, ac prophetico (dicere liceat) afflata spiritu vidisti e portis inferis in Ecclesiæ detrimentum progressas esse Centurias Satanae : ex adverso consurgens pro domo Israel præliaturus prælia Domini, non majori vel pari saltem numero militum, compensato certamine, decernendum putasti ; sed probe sciens, quod quæ infirma mundi sunt, eligit Deus, ut confundat fortia : puerum tuum, fratrum minimum, et hebetioris ingenii delegisti, quem unum, eumdemque inermem tot objiceres armatis hostibus. Philippo Nerio gratiarum Actio.

testimony to the Romish views of history, or a reluctant confession is extorted from him by the rack. Heretics and schismatics are less the objects of pity, than of passionate abuse. Temporal princes, who have rendered themselves obnoxious to the enmity of the spirituality, are assailed with violent invective. In short, the author is the very ideal of an Italian Romanist. He never descends from his towering principles. Hildebrand himself would have been satisfied with his historian.

Yet as an effort of literary labour, the work of Baronius largely demands our admiration. It formed a memorable step in the progress of Church-history. The form of annals in which it is arranged, is convenient and natural; and we constantly find, in perusing it, that the author, who had at his command the documentary treasures of the metropolis of the Christian world, availed himself of his advantages with laudable industry and zeal. Though it was written at a time when little had yet been done for Ecclesiastical criticism; when Diplomatic, which has since wrought such wonders for the cause of history, did not exist as a science; and when geography and philology were still only in their childhood; it still maintains a high rank among the works on Church-history. Though it has many of the defects of an early attempt to illustrate the subject, it is one of the books which will never be superseded. So much, indeed, has since been done for every branch of

chronology, that it would have been but natural for the Ecclesiastical annals of the illustrious cardinal to have passed ere this into oblivion. But he has incorporated with his labours a large quantity of documents and extracts from manuscripts, which have not been published elsewhere. His work is itself a great repository of materials; and is now chiefly valuable as a collection of authorities. This value it is likely always to retain. The student can never turn to it without advantage. For though genuine and supposititious pieces are brought together with scarcely an attempt at discrimination, it affords much which is absolutely indispensable to all who seek a well-grounded acquaintance with Ecclesiastical History¹.

The labours of the Magdeburg Centuriators and Baronius had the immediate effect of establishing two distinct and hostile schools of Church-history. Ecclesiastical antiquity was henceforth the field on which the champions of the Protestant and Romish parties fought their fiercest battles; and the history of the Church came to be too generally regarded as little else than a branch of polemical divinity. All things considered, this was perhaps inevitable. The Reformation had given the science new objects, and a new direction. The questions in dispute

¹ In confirmation of the opinions which I have ventured to express respecting Baronius, I have in the Appendix (Note QQ.) transcribed the censure of a Roman Catholic and the praise of a Protestant.

were most of them so purely historical, that the history itself could not but become matter of controversy. It is, however, greatly to be regretted that the subject should have been first handled on both sides by men holding extreme opinions. This tended to place the parties in more complete repulsion, and to lay down and perpetuate party views of the plainest facts. We still feel the consequences. For though time and inquiry have produced mutual concessions, and multiplied the points on which all agree, many writers on both sides continue to maintain certain favourite positions in a spirit which betrays more of the violence of the controversialist than the calmness of the historian.

The merit of the "Centuries," and the "Annals," as works of learning, had likewise the effect of discouraging further investigation into the history of the periods over which they extended. It was soon felt that both parties had a sort of authorized work on Church-history, which it was rather a point of honour to defend than a point of duty to improve. We may generally observe that a great effort of literature is followed by a state of comparative inactivity, analogous to the exhaustion which succeeds an unusual exertion of an animal body. It was so in the case before us. Much was done in the former half of the seventeenth century for particular portions and departments of the history and antiquities of the Church, but we meet

with no new complete or comprehensive work. The Protestants¹ attacked Baronius; the Romanists² attacked the Centuriators; and posterity has availed itself of the truth which was elicited in the contest. The disputants themselves, however, respectively adhered to their own views and principles, and scarcely attempted to disengage the truth from the baser materials which had been worked up with it by the perverse industry of controversial historians.

It is well known that upon the death of Melancthon, the moderate views of that eminent man were soon altogether abandoned by the Protestants who adhered to the confession of Augsburg, and that a stern exclusiveness became the prevailing character of the orthodox theology of Lutheranism. The change was favourable to the reputation of the Centuriators. By the end of the sixteenth century, the prejudices with which their work was at first regarded in their own community had died away, and it was universally received as the church-history of the Lutheran party. But highly as it was valued, it was a cumbrous and expensive work, which could never be generally used by any but professional students. It was moreover imperfect, inasmuch as it did not extend beyond the thirteenth

¹ Sagittar. Introd. p. 309—319. Schmid. Supplem. p. 164—174. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. xii. 170—175. Walch, Bibl. Theol. iii. 151—159.

² Sagittar. Introd. p. 283. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. xii. 163—165. Walch, Bibl. Theol. iii. 125—126.

century. Hence the occasion for abridgments and continuations; which were almost the only contributions made by Lutheran scholars to the knowledge of Church-history for upwards of an hundred years. The first of this class of writers, and the one whose labours enjoyed the greatest popularity, was LUCAS OSIANDER, a divine of eminence in the duchy of Wirtemberg. He reduced the "Centuries" into an Epitome¹, which together with a continuation of the history of the Church to his own time, was published in separate volumes between 1592 and 1613². This compilation long maintained its ground in Germany. It was translated into German as the volumes appeared; and a Swedish translation³ was published in 1635. Being itself a work of some extent, it was made the subject of other abridgments; and may perhaps be regarded as having contributed to extend and per-

¹ The title of the first volume is, *Epitomes Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Centuria, i. ii. iii. In quibus breviter et perspicue commemoratur, quis fuerit status Ecclesiæ Christi a nativitate Salvatoris, usque ad initium anni Christi ccc. Recitatur autem in specie, quomodo Evangelii doctrina in orbe terrarum sparsa sit: quæ hæreses in Ecclesia exortæ: quæ persecutiones contra Ecclesiam motæ: quibus mediis hæreses oppressæ, et persecutiones sedatæ sint: quos præclaros doctores Ecclesiæ singulis temporibus habuerint: inter quos et Romanorum Episcoporum vitæ recensentur. Sed et Romanorum Imperatorum acta describuntur.* Lucas Osiander, D. Tubingæ, 1592.

² Appendix, Note R.R.

³ By Erich Schröder. Stockholm, 1635.

petuate the views of the Centuriators even more than their own voluminous work.

The remarks which have been made on the relation in which the Lutherans stood to the work of the Centuriators, are still more applicable to that in which the Romanists stood to the labours of Baronius. The undertaking of Baronius was altogether an official work. It was known and acknowledged to exhibit the views of Rome. The author had enjoyed literary advantages which were far beyond the reach of less favoured scholars. It would have been to incur at once the charge of heresy and presumption to attempt to rival his undertaking¹; and accordingly, for more than half a century, no such attempt was made by a member of the Romish Church². But the work of Baronius was imperfect. The illustrious author had published only the annals of the first twelve centuries. If, as it has been asserted³, he had prepared three centuries more, they were never given to the world, and it was left to others to continue the mighty undertaking of the father of Romish Ecclesiastical

¹ Translations of Baronius were begun in several of the modern languages; but none of them proceeded beyond the first or second volume. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. xii. 167; Walch, Bibl. Theol. iii. 145.

² It would, however, be unjust to that communion not to remark that the errors of Baronius have been severely criticised by Romish writers. See Schmid. Supplem. Sagittar. Introd. p. 155—160.

³ Fabr. Bibl. Græc. xii. 166.

history. The magnitude and difficulty of the work did not deter adventurous scholars from treading in his steps, and the historian of Church-history must on no account omit a notice of their labours.

The first writer who attempted a continuation of the Ecclesiastical Annals, was ABRAHAM BZOVIVS¹, a Polish Dominican. He composed a work extending to twelve folio volumes², of which the first eight appeared at Cologne between 1616 and 1635. These brought down the history of the Church from the end of the Pontificate of Celestine III., where Baronius concluded, to the year 1564. The author died in 1637. But another volume appeared at Rome in 1672, which continued the history to the year 1572. But no more was published. Though written upon the same principles as those adopted by Baronius, it has been almost universally regarded as greatly inferior to the work which it was designed to continue³. It never enjoyed any high

¹ *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ ex illustriss. Cæsaris Baronii, S. R. E. Cardinalis Bibliothecarii Annalibus, aliarumque Viror. Illust. Ecclesiasticis Monumentis, tomus i.* He has been sarcastically described as *Gente Polonus, audacia historicus, desiderio Cardinalis.* Ittig. *Hist. Eccles. Sel. Cap. Præfat.* § 16.

² Schmid. *Supplem. Sagittar. Introd.* p. 175.

³ *Hic non modo in eundem, quem Baronius, impegit lapidem; verum eum etiam superavit, scilicet in turpi, et nefanda Papæ ac Romanæ sedis adulatione: in reliquis ingenio, judicio, rerum usu, ac eloquio multum inferior Baronio.* Sagittarii *Introd. in Hist. Eccles.* p. 319. His work was said to be more properly the Annals of his Order than of the Church. Ittig.

degree of reputation. The author was unfortunate enough to expose himself not only to the displeasure of the Duke of Bavaria¹, but to the more formidable hostility of the Franciscans and the Jesuits ; and candid readers were scarcely less offended by his servile attachment to the interests of the court of Rome.

HENRI DE SPONDE, or as he is generally called, Spondanus, a native of Mauleon-le-Soule, a town in Gascony, was the next writer who attempted a similar work. He had been brought up a Protestant, but conformed to the church of Rome, and

ut supra. Bzovius has been treated quite as severely by Roman Catholic as by Protestant writers. He is thus described by the learned Jesuit, Theophile Raynaud : F. Abr. Bzovius Ordin. Cyriacorum perexigui judicii scriptor, nec tam autor quam consarcinator ; emisit multa volumina continuationis Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ post Baronium, cui succedaneam in eo argumento operam navavit ; ut objectu contrarii, magis eluceret Baronii accuratio, juxta Philonis observationem lib. *quis rer. divinar. hæres*. Tomi Bzoviani sunt potius Annales Dominicanorum, quam Annales Ecclesiastici : est enim totus in rebus domesticis efferendis, ac dilatandis ; nisi cum aliquid Ordini probrosum, quod convellere non posset, malis avibus in historiæ seriem incidit. Tunc enim supra piscem tacitus abit. At cum agitur de mordendis et risui omnium exponendis Fratribus Minoribus, probat exquisite diligentiam. De Immunit. Autorum Cyriacorum. Diatr. vii. Opera, tom. xx. p. 302. It is, however, but fair to remark, that the tract in which this occurs is a virulent libel upon the Dominicans.

¹ On account of the severity with which he treated the memory of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria.

in 1626 became bishop of Pamiers in Languedoc. His work ¹ is the most concise of the continuations of Baronius. It extends from 1198 to the time at which he wrote, in two volumes folio, and was published at Paris in 1659. He has been often praised for his sound judgment ²; and his historical writings have been thought ³ to bear marks of his Protestant education, though he does not yield to his predecessors in the warmth of his devotion to the papal cause.

But the work ⁴ which is best known and most esteemed as a continuation of Baronius, was the last which was written. ODORICUS RAYNALDUS, a native of Treviso, was a priest of the Oratory, a con-

¹ *Annalium Emin^{ti} Cardinalis Cæs. Baronii Continuatio*, ab anno mxcvii. quo is desiit, ad finem mdcxlii. Per Henricum Spondanum Mauleosolensem Appamiarum in Gallia Narbonensi Episcopum. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, impensis Societatis Typographicæ Librorum officii Ecclesiastici jussu Regis constitutæ. 1659. Cum privilegio Christianissimæ majestatis. It was written by Spondanus himself only as far as 1640. The rest (only five pages) was added by a friend.

² Cave, comparing him with Bzovius and Raynaldus, says, "Etsi reliquis mole cedat, fide tamen, diligentia, atque judicio accuratiori longe superat." *Prolegom. ad Hist. Lit.* § vi. 1.

³ Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, Th. i. S. 233.

⁴ *Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno mxcviii. ubi Card. Baronius desinit*, Auctore Odorico Raynaldo, Tarusino, Congregationis Oratorii Presbytero. Tomus xiii. Rome excudebat Mascardus, 1646. Superiorum permissu, et privilegio. It is included in the great edition of the Ecclesiastical Annals in thirty-eight folios. Lucæ, 1738—59.

gregation which, as he tells us¹, considered itself interested, by a sort of hereditary right, in the labours of Baronius. Like his great predecessor he was allowed access to the literary stores of the Vatican, and his *Continuation of the Ecclesiastical Annals* affords ample proof of the advantages enjoyed by its author. It extends from 1198 to 1565. Eight volumes appeared during his lifetime, between 1646 and 1663, and a posthumous volume was printed in 1677². It is generally acknowledged that Raynaldus equalled Baronius only in the violence of his papal prejudices; but the documents and other original pieces, which enrich his pages, have secured for them a high and permanent value.

In the meantime a crowd of epitomists extended

¹ In his dedication to the Pope he says, *Cum Cæsar Cardinalis Baronius, summæ pietatis ac sapientiæ vir, atque universæ Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ pater, quem Sanctitas Tua, amore et officiis, dum in terris fuit, est prosecuta, ac post obitum, meritis laudibus ad cælum tollere nunquam destitit, hujusmodi historiæ scribendæ provinciam hereditario quodam jure alumnis congregationis nostræ reliquerit; eamque Historiam ex scrinio potissimum Sedis Apostolicæ, et antiquissimis Vaticanæ Bibliothecæ monumentis excerptam præscripserit; mihi, cui ab ingenii artisque adminiculis plane imparato tam arduum munus obtigit, omnino visum est deberi opus uni S^{ti} T. quæ Vaticana tabularia, in quibus tot insunt thesauri quot volumina, reserari mihi ac pateferi jussit.* He is said to have had the use of the manuscripts left by Baronius. *Fabr. Bibl. Græc. xii. 166.*

² In two parts, the first bearing the date 1676; the second, 1677. Ittigius says (*Hist. Eccles. Sel. Cap. Tom. i. Præfat. § 15*) that it was not *published* till 1689.

the fame of Baronius and the influence of his work. Bzovius, Spondanus¹, and Raynaldus, all abridged the work which they afterwards continued; and a multitude of other writers, whose names are less known to posterity, propagated in similar compilations, the views inculcated in the Ecclesiastical Annals. Their charitable labours were not confined to the language of scholars. The unlearned were equally invited to avail themselves of the discoveries of the orthodox historian. The vernacular tongues were employed in celebrating the antiquity of Romanism, and in denouncing the protestant errors. Some of these epitomes² were written in French, Italian, German, Polish, and even Arabic: and it would almost seem that the members of the church of Rome had begun to

¹ The epitome of Spondanus had the sanction of Baronius himself. In a letter to Spondanus, of the 31st of August, 1606, there is the following characteristic passage:—*Quod de Annalium nostrorum Epitome, opera et studio tuo elaborata significasti, non gratum mihi acceptumque esse non potuit. Etsi enim re vera totum hoc breviandi genus probare vix solemus, rarumque sit ut ex animi sententia lectoribus procedat: ea tamen de prudentia, fide, ac diligentia tua nostra est fiducia, ut quod abs te profectum sit, id omnibus placere posse arbitremur.* Spondani Epitom. Præfat. p. 5.

² For the epitomes of Baronius it is sufficient to refer to Fabricius (Bibl. Græc. xii. 168), and Walch, Bibl. Theol. iii. 146—148. I have included all the most important in the Bibliographical Index at the end of this volume.

identify the very idea of Ecclesiastical history with the work of Baronius.

At all events, for full half a century, nothing but these continuations and abridgments was attempted by writers of that communion. They were content to present a bare statement of facts, for the most part grievously distorted by party prejudice, without endeavouring to treat their subject in a way calculated to inform the understanding or affect the heart. Till the middle of the seventeenth century Church-history may fairly be said to have remained stationary at the point to which it had been conducted by Baronius. The work¹ of ANTOINE GODEAU, bishop of Vence, which was published in 1653, was the first which exhibited any new features. The “*Histoire de l'Eglise*”² of this amiable writer,

¹ *Histoire de l'Eglise* par Messire Antoine Godeau, Evêque et Seigneur de Vence. I use the fourth edition (1672); the first was published in 1653.

² Le principal (de ses ouvrages) est son *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, en trois volumes en folio, dont le premier parut en 1653, qui contiennent l'histoire des huit premiers siècles. Il avoit travaillé à la continuation de cette histoire, et ses memoires sont entre les mains d'un Evêque de France; mais comme ils ne sont pas achevez, on ne les a point donnez au public. On est obligé à M. Godeau d'avoir le premier donné en François une *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, exacte, fidele, complete, et agréable à lire; quoique depuis lui plusieurs habiles gens aient travaillé sur le même sujet, l'histoire de M. Godeau a, et aura toujours, son mérite, que les années ni les autres histoires

was undoubtedly a step in its progress. Though he adhered pretty closely to the method of Baronius, and was no doubt chiefly indebted to him for his materials, his conception of his subject was in some degree original, and his work was distinguished by some important peculiarities. It bore the impress of the author's mind, and was accordingly religious, moderate, and candid. Though written to exhibit a popular view¹ of the subject, and excluding therefore inquiries interesting only to scholars, it probably exercised considerable influence on the future cultivation of Church-history. It seems to possess the merit of having introduced to the Roman Catholics a peculiarity which the Centuriators had long before

n'effaceront point. Du Pin, Nouvelle Bibliothèque, tom. xvii. p. 287. It is a dangerous thing to make predictions: the work of Godeau has been long superseded and forgotten. It is said, that the fidelity of his first volume exposed the author to the charge of heresy; and that the intelligible threats of a powerful ecclesiastic induced him to write the remainder of his work with less impartiality. Schmid. Supplem. Sagittar. Introd. p. 212. The good bishop was highly celebrated in his day for his devotional and poetical writings. An envious critic, however, ventured to question his right to a very elevated position on Parnassus. The passage in which Du Pin mentions this unreasonable conduct is worth transcribing. "Malgré la grande réputation qu'ont eû ses ouvrages, il s'est trouvé un homme assez téméraire pour soutenir que M. Godeau n'avoit aucun goût pour la poésie, dans un libelle imprimé sous ce titre aussi injurieux au caractère Episcopal qu'à la personne de M. Godeau, *Godellus utrum Poëta?*" Ibid. p. 288.

¹ Appendix, Note SS.

made familiar to Protestants, and first shown them how greatly the history of God's dealings with his Church is calculated to minister to the personal edification of the believer.

During this period, however, the Protestants showed no greater activity than the Roman Catholics. The condition of Church-history among the Lutherans continued much as I have already described it. Theology among them had become entirely scholastic, and they had lost all taste for historical investigation. The reformed branch of the Protestant body, having little sympathy with antiquity, had hitherto contributed little to the cultivation of Ecclesiastical studies. The work ¹ of

¹ *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Novi Testamenti Enneas, seu Pars Prima. Qua res Christianorum, Judæorum, Gentilium, Muhammedanorum, juxta novem, post natum Christum, primorum Seculorum seriem, breviter, succincte et aphoristice primo proponuntur; fusius deinde explicantur: capita etiam doctrinæ, tum veræ, per commodam et luculentam, uniuscujusque seculi Συμβιβασιν; tum falsæ, per ἑλεγχον subjiciuntur, sicque ad multiplicem usum, necessarium rerum Ecclesiasticarum notitiam applicantur. Authore Joh. Henrico Hottingero, Tigurino. Hanoviæ, anno 1655.* This is the title of the first volume, which contains the history of the first nine centuries. The second volume comprises the tenth and eleventh; the third, the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth; and the remaining six volumes come down to the Council of Trent. It is in small octavo, and has never been reprinted. The brevity of the earlier, compared with the later part of the work, has led to an opinion, that the author gradually changed his plan. Schmid. Supplem. Sagittar. Introd. p. 199.

JOHN HENRY HOTTINGER, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Zurich, which appeared between 1655 and 1667, was the first written by a member of that communion, which displayed an extensive and intimate acquaintance with the materials of Church-history. Even this treated but briefly of the events of the first fourteen centuries, and was minute only when it approached the period of the Reformation. But the writer has deservedly acquired distinction as one of the earliest who applied oriental learning to the illustration of the history of the Church. The learned Calvinists of France, whose studies lay in this direction, were engaged chiefly in the defence of the Presbyterian discipline. Some of them, as Rivet, Blondel, and Daillé, were men of great acuteness and considerable erudition, whose writings undoubtedly tended to the improvement of Ecclesiastical criticism, and secured for them the more equivocal praise of founding an antipatristic school. But they seem to have considered it as their vocation not to construct, but to demolish. They produced at most but dissertations and compendiums; and as yet had given to the world no memorable work on Ecclesiastical History.

SECTION II.

FROM 1667 to 1715.

ADVANCEMENT OF ECCLESIASTICAL LEARNING—BENEDICTINES OF ST. MAUR—MABILLON—RISE OF THE GALLICAN SCHOOL OF CHURCH-HISTORY—MABILLON—NATALIS ALEXANDER—DUPIN—PAGI—TILLEMONT—FLEURY—ANGLICAN SCHOOL OF CHURCH-HISTORY—CAVE—DECLINE OF ECCLESIASTICAL LEARNING IN ENGLAND—BINGHAM—LE SUEUR—F. SPANHEIM—REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES—J. BASNAGE—S. BASNAGE—CONDITION OF ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE IN GERMANY—IMPROVED TOWARDS THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—ARNOLD—THOMASIIUS—LE CLERC—ESTIMATE OF THE PROGRESS OF CHURCH-HISTORY DURING THIS PERIOD.

WE have now to notice a state of things very different to that of which we had to complain at the conclusion of the last section. The obstacles which had hitherto impeded the progress of Church-history rapidly pass away, and we have to trace its advance towards a much higher degree of perfection than it had yet attained. The successful cultivation of the study of the Christian antiquities had gradually prepared the way for this improvement. Hospinian had early directed the attention of the Protestants to this branch of Ecclesiastical knowledge: and in the former half of the seventeenth century it was zealously cultivated by several distinguished scholars in communion with the church of Rome.

Petau¹ had traced the history of the Theological doctrines; L'Aubespine² and Morin³ had examined the rites and sacraments of the ancient Church; De Marca⁴ and Launoi had pointed out the relations between the Church and State; and Leo Allatius⁵ had restored his countrymen the Greeks to their due rank in the Christian commonwealth. These, and a host of other writers, had introduced a taste for real learning and criticism. New materials of history had been brought to light, and those which were already known to exist had been rendered more accessible. The works of the Fathers and the ancient historians were, from time to time, published in more correct and inviting forms. The *Bibliotheca Patrum*⁶ of De la Bigne, which, at its first appearance, had been treated with all the malice of narrow-

¹ Dionysii Petavii *Dogmata Theologica*. Paris, 1643.

² Gabr. Albaspinæi de *Veteribus Ecclesiæ Ritibus Observationum libri ii*. Paris. 1623.

³ Joan. Morini *Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina in Administratione Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ xiii. primis sæculis in Ecclesia observata*. Paris. 1651. Joan. Morini *Commentarius de Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus*. 1653.

⁴ *De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii*. Paris. 1641.

⁵ Especially in the following works :—*De libris Ecclesiasticis Græcorum Dissertationes duæ*, 1645. *De Ecclesiæ Occidentalis atque Orientalis Perpetua Consensione libri tres*, 1648. *De utriusque Ecclesiæ Occidentalis atque Orientalis Perpetua in Dogmate de Purgatorio Consensione*, 1655. For an account of Leo Allatius (Leone Allaccio), and a catalogue of his works, see *Fabr. Bibl. Græc.* x. 405—414.

⁶ Appendix, Note TT.

mind ed bigotry, had grown into seventeen folio volumes, and appeared in a seventh edition in 1654. Sirmond edited the writers of the middle ages, Henri Valois the ancient Ecclesiastical historians, and Combefis the later Greek divines; and in 1643 the Bollandists gave to the world the first fruits of the gigantic undertaking¹ which has not been completed by the labours of an hundred and fifty years, and the publication of fifty-three folios.

But without disparaging the merits of the many distinguished scholars whose labours so greatly contributed about this period to the advancement of historical knowledge, it is not too much to say that it was the efforts of a particular body which communicated the great impulse, and produced the second or French school of Ecclesiastical history. The erection of the Congregation of St. Maur, in 1621, was an event of no small importance to Ecclesiastical learning. The superiors of that famous

¹ *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a Catholicis Scriptoribus celebrantur, quæ ex Latinis et Græcis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis collegit, digessit, notis illustravit Joannes Bollandus Societatis Jesu Theologus, servata primigenia Scriptorum phrasi. Operam et studium contulit Godefridus Henschenius ejusdem Societ. Theologus. Prodit nunc duobus tomis Januarius, in quo MCLXX. nominatorum Sanctorum, et aliorum innumerabilium memoria, vel res gestæ illustrantur. Ceteri menses ex ordine subsequentur. Antverpiæ, apud Joannem Meursium, anno 1643.* The last volume (1794) comes down to the 14th of October. After an interval of nearly half a century, the undertaking is now about to be resumed. See Appendix, Note UU.

community, from its very first establishment¹, directed the attention of their disciples to literary subjects; and the names of the Benedictines, Ménard and D'Achery, were soon enrolled among the most celebrated scholars of Europe. But though the Benedictines of St. Maur had already distinguished themselves by their learning by the middle of the seventeenth century, their high reputation as a literary body was chiefly due to the example and influence of an illustrious individual who appeared some years later. JEAN MABILLON was born in 1632, and entered upon his splendid career of letters in 1667. In that year his edition of St. Bernard attracted the notice of Ecclesiastical scholars, and furnished a sure pledge of the value of his future labours. By the publication of the "Acts of the Saints of the Order of St. Benedict²," (a collection already commenced by D'Achery,) and other ancient pieces, he largely contributed to the materials of history: his treatise on Diplomatic³ at

¹ Tassin, *Histoire Littéraire de la Congregation de Saint-Maur, Ordre de S. Benoît*. Preface, p. v. et seq.

² *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti in Sæculorum classes distributa: Sæculum I. quod est ab anno Christi D. ad DC.* Collegit Domnus Lucas d'Achery, Congregationis Sancti Mauri Monachus, ac cum eo edidit D. Johannes Mabillon, ejusdem Congregationis, qui et universum opus notis, observationibus, indicibusque necessariis illustravit. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1668. The ninth volume, the last which appeared, was published in 1701.

³ *De re Diplomatica libri vi. in quibus quidquid ad veterum*

once gave a new character and direction to historical studies; and his “Benedictine Annals¹,” on which he was engaged to the time of his death, may be ranked among the most important works which have been written on the history of the Church. His unbounded learning, and his penetrating and comprehensive mind enabled him to discover new truths, and detect and expose inveterate errors. His amiable moderation and unaffected candour introduced into the discussion of Ecclesiastical subjects a better tone and spirit. But this was not the full extent of the services which he rendered to Church-history. The monastic habit could not restrain his

instrumentorum antiquitatem, materiam, scripturam, et stilum; quidquid ad sigilla, monogrammata, subscriptiones ac notas chronologicas; quidquid inde ad antiquariam, historicam, forensemque disciplinam, explicatur et illustratur. Accedunt Commentarius de antiquis Regum Francorum Palatiis: veterum scripturarum varia specimina, tabulis lx. comprehensa: nova ducentorum et amplius, monumentorum collectio. Opera et studio Domni Johannis Mabillon, Presbyteri et Monachi Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, e Congregatione S. Mauri. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1681.

¹ *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti Occidentalium Monachorum Patriarchæ.* In quibus non modo res monasticæ, sed etiam ecclesiasticæ historiæ non minima pars continetur. Auctore Domno Johanne Mabillon, &c. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1703. The fourth volume, the last of which Mabillon himself superintended the publication, extends to the year 1066, and appeared in 1707. Massuet completed and published the fifth volume in 1713. Martene completed the sixth, which comes down to the year 1157, and which was not published till 1739.

mental independence, nor his religious peculiarities make him feel as a vulgar controversialist. He was the most prominent of a new race of scholars, who communicated to the whole subject a different character; who separated it from polemical theology, and assumed as a first principle that its subject-matter was not controversy but facts. It was a new thing to see a congregation of monks taking the lead in a literary movement. But such was the case. The genius of Mabillon did much to purify and ennoble Church-history. Excited by his example and precepts, the French Benedictines devoted themselves in an admirable spirit to the cultivation of Ecclesiastical learning, and distinguished themselves in the republic of letters by the publication of a number of critical, philological, and antiquarian works connected with such studies, not more remarkable for their erudition than for their moderation and candour.

Though the series of Benedictine authors afforded no one who wrote a general history of the Church, it is not incorrect to describe the French writers who did so much for Church-history in the latter part of the seventeenth century as the Benedictine school. They were all penetrated with a sincere respect for Mabillon and his fellow-labourers; they all endeavoured, according to their respective ability, to pursue their researches in the same spirit; and they were all, more or less, distinguished from the Roman catholic writers of other countries by an in-

dependence of thought and feeling, and a zealous desire to defend the liberties of the Gallican church. They all, moreover, thought that the cause of Church-history required a new and more correct examination of the documents and other materials of information, and that, to be studied to advantage, it should be studied not with an immediate view to controversy, but to discover truth.

The rapid improvement which was effected in Church-history by the agency of these able men, was intimately connected with the political and literary condition of France at this period. The vigorous rule of Louis XIV. extended over every department of the social system. That magnificent prince would submit to no opposition, whether from Charenton or the Vatican. His pride was shocked by the Papal pretensions, and he was led alike by inclination and policy to humble the court of Rome, by encouraging the clergy of his own dominions to assert with boldness the privileges of the national church. The patronage which he afforded to literature in general was not denied to learned churchmen. The example of the sovereign and his ministers communicated to the nobility and prelates of France a disposition to appreciate and reward professional merit; and, accordingly, it was but natural that Ecclesiastical studies should flourish not less than other branches of learning in the Augustan age of French literature.

The flippant and insidious works of the Jesuit

MAIMBOURG¹, deserve notice chiefly as having set the example of that superficial manner of writing history, which at a later period disgraced the literature of his country. But for a time they enjoyed the greatest popularity, and it must be confessed that his lively and striking manner probably diffused a taste for Ecclesiastical history, and caused it to be regarded as a branch of polite learning. The first writer who can be assigned to the new school, was the learned Dominican, NOEL ALEXANDRE, or Natalis Alexander. His work on the Ecclesiastical history² of the first sixteen centuries origin-

¹ Schrökh, speaking of Maimbourg and Varillas, admirably says, Sie sind die wahren Muster und Vorläufer von der neuern Französischen Art, die Historie mit einer Schminke zu überziehen, welche sie ganz unkenntlich macht; Anekdoten zu erzählen, ohne sie durch Zeugen zu bekräftigen; um dem Leser zu gefallen, und Bewunderung bey ihm zu erregen, in einer artigen und witzigen Schreibart von der historischen Wahrheit nur so viel beyzubehalten, als ihnen anständig ist; desto mehr aber aus ihrer Einbildungskraft und ihrem fast immer zu frühzeitigen Urtheil dazu zu setzen: ein Bild das *Voltaire* zur Vollkommenheit gebracht hat. Kirchengeschichte, i. 244.

² R. P. Natalis Alexandri Ordinis FF. Prædicatorum, in sacra Facultate Parisiensi Doctoris et emeriti Professoris, Historia Ecclesiastica Veteris Novique Testamenti, ab Orbe condito ad annum post Christum natum millesimum sexcentessimum: et in loca ejusdem insignia Dissertationes Historicae, Chronologicae, Criticae, Dogmaticae. In octo divisa tomos: ante quidem per partes, nunc autem conjunctim et accuratius edita: rerum novarum accessione, Scholiis, et Indicibus locupletissimis aucta, illustrata, ornata. Parisiis, 1699. This is

ally appeared, in octavo volumes, between 1676 and 1687, and was reprinted in folio, with considerable additions, in 1699. Though decided in his attachment to the doctrines of his own communion, he distinguished himself by a bold advocacy of the Gallican principles, and an open hostility to the extravagant pretensions of the see of Rome. His work, accordingly, was condemned by Innocent XI. ; though, with an inconsistency not easily reconcileable with papal infallibility, the censures were removed some years after by Benedict XIII., a Dominican Pope¹. It is a work of great merit. It is indeed rather a series of dissertations than a connected history ; and it possesses much too large a measure of the controversial character which had distinguished and disfigured the earlier works. But Alexander² recast his subject. He distributed it into centuries. He sought his information in the sources ; and diligently availed himself of all that had yet been done by the industry of other scholars. He is deservedly considered as one of the most learned and able historians of this period ; and some

the title of the second edition. The general preface points out in what it differs from the first, which was in 24 volumes 8vo. There were three more Paris editions, 1715, 1726, 1736 ; one at Lucca with the notes of C. Roncaglia, 1734 ; and two at Venice with the notes of J. D. Mansi, 1771, 1778, all in folio. The most complete, and, I believe, the last edition, was published at Bingen, 1785—90, in twenty volumes 4to.

¹ Walch, *Bibl. Theol.* iii. 166.

² Appendix, Note VV.

well qualified to pronounce an opinion, have not hesitated to say¹, that, in point of learning, his work is the best general Ecclesiastical history written by a member of the church of Rome.

There are few writers on Ecclesiastical subjects, who have attained more extensive celebrity, than LOUIS ELLIES DU PIN, whose "Library of the Ecclesiastical Authors" next demands our notice. Several attempts had already been made to illustrate the literary history of the Church. Sixtus of Sienna², Bellarmine³, Possevin⁴, Miræus⁵, Labbe⁶, and others, had written accounts of the Ecclesiastical writers. But these early attempts were all more or less chargeable with excessive brevity and incorrectness, and they were at once well nigh superseded by the almost simultaneous publication

¹ Quod dedit Alexander, opus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ insigne est ac merito inter scripta pontificiorum de rebus civitatis Christianæ principatum tuetur. Walch, Bibl. Theol. iii. 167. Sie ist das gelehrteste und beste Werk, das man bis auf unsere Zeiten über die gesammte Kirchenhistorie, von einem römisch-katholischen Schriftsteller erhalten hat. Schröckh, Kirchengeschichte, i. 244.

² Bibliotheca Sancta. Venetiis, 1566.

³ De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis Liber. Romæ, 1613.

⁴ Apparatus Sacer. Venetiis, 1603.

⁵ Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica. Antverpiæ, 1639. This contains not only the ancient Catalogists, but an auctarium by the editor. A second part containing further additions was published in 1649.

⁶ Dissertatio Philologica et Historica de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, quos attigit Bellarminus. Parisiis, 1660.

of the learned works of Oudinus, Cave, and Du Pin. The last of these, with whom we are now concerned, was the earliest writer who employed a modern language in the composition of a systematic and extensive work on the subject connected with the higher departments of Ecclesiastical information. But the work which he projected and commenced, was designed to be exclusively a literary history. It was in spite of himself that he became an Ecclesiastical historian. The manner in which he executed the first eight centuries of his "*Nouvelle Bibliothèque*¹," induced the celebrated Bossuet to interrupt his labours. That able prelate was too sagacious not to perceive, that it was written upon principles which if carried to their full extent would prove destructive to the Romish system. The learned Sorbonnist was therefore forbidden to proceed². In order to evade the prohibition, he continued his undertaking under a different form and title³; henceforth interweaving an account of

¹ *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques, contenant l'histoire de leur vie, le catalogue, la critique, et la chronologie de leurs ouvrages; le sommaire de ce qu'ils contiennent: un jugement sur leur style, et sur leur doctrine; et le dénombrement des différentes éditions de leurs œuvres.* Par Mre L. Ellies Du Pin, Docteur de la Faculté de Paris, et Professeur Royal en Philosophie. A Paris, 1686—1711. It was translated into English. London, 1692—1725.

² Ittig. *Hist. Eccles. Sel. Cap. Præfat.* § lxxv. Walch, *Bibl. Theol.* iii. 395—399.

³ The new title in the Paris edition was, *Histoire des Con-*

the Ecclesiastical writers with a general history of the Church. At the time at which it was written, it was undoubtedly an important work, and must have had considerable influence on the progress of Church-history. The author was a man of extensive and various learning, and of an independent and candid mind. But he appears to have been a person of little originality. His liberality too frequently seems mere indifferentism; and his book abounds throughout with evident marks of carelessness and haste. The writer of these pages willingly acknowledges his obligations to an early guide, but it is right to warn the student that the work of Du Pin is very far from exhibiting the present state of Ecclesiastical knowledge.

The work ¹ of the learned Franciscan, ANTOINE

troverses et des Matières Ecclésiastiques traitées dans le Neuvième Siècle. 1694. In the Amsterdam reprint, (most of the volumes of which, however, bear the false date of Paris), the original title was continued throughout the whole work.

¹ *Critica Historico-Chronologica in universos Annales Ecclesiasticos Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi Cæsaris Cardinalis Baronii, in qua Rerum Narratio defenditur, illustratur, suppletur, Ordo Temporum corrigitur, innovatur, et Periodo Græco-Romana nunc primum concinnata munitur, auctore R. P. Antonio Pagi, Doct. Theol., Ordinis Minorum Convent. S. Francisci. Opus posthumum, quatuor tomis distinctum; ab adventu Domini nostri Jesu Christi ad annum MDCXCVIII. perductum; non solum Annales Ecclesiasticos, horumque Epitomen legentibus; sed etiam omnibus antiquitatis studiosis necessarium. Accedunt Catalogi decem veterum summorum Pontificum*

PAGI, of which the first volume was published in 1689, was a noble contribution to Church-history. It was written to correct the faults, and supply the omissions of Baronius; and is still regarded as the most important work which has ever appeared on Ecclesiastical chronology.

But scarcely any scholar of this period contributed more to the progress of Church-history, than the excellent and admirably learned LOUIS-SÉBASTIEN LE NAIN DE TILLEMONT. His writings, which were mostly published after his death, may fairly be said to have exhausted the sources of history which had hitherto come to light, and to exhibit all that was known of the empire¹ and the Church during the first six centuries. But his great work², (*Mé-*

hactenus inediti. Studio et cura R. P. Francisci Pagi, auctoris nepotis, ejusdem ordinis Doctoris Theologi. Cum Indicibus locupletissimis. Editio novissima accuratior, ab ipsomet auctoris nepote plurimis in locis emendata, cui accessit Dissertatio Hypatica, seu de Consulibus Cæsareis. Antverpiæ, 1727. This is the title of the second edition of the whole work. The volume published at Paris in 1689, contained only the first four centuries. The complete work was first published after the author's death, by his nephew, François Pagi, in 1705.

¹ *L'Histoire des Empereurs et des autres Princes qui ont régné durant les six premiers Siècles. 1690, et seq. In six volumes 4to.*

² *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des six premiers Siècles, justifiés par les citations des Auteurs Originaux; avec une Chronologie, où l'on fait un abrégé de l'His-*

moires pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique des six premiers Siècles), is correctly described by its title ; it is a magazine of materials, selected, arranged, and labelled, rather than a history. It is a book less suitable to be read than to be consulted. It is, however, a perfect model of historical research, not less admirable for its tone and spirit, than for its accuracy and learning. The scholar always turns to the pages of Tillemont with satisfaction, and the thoughtful student of Ecclesiastical history cannot but revere the memory of a writer in whom, after allowing for the peculiarities of a pious Romanist, he ever finds liberality without latitudinarianism, and candour without scepticism.

The work, however, which must be admitted to have effected the greatest improvement in composition and method, was the "Histoire Ecclésiastique" of CLAUDE FLEURY¹; the first volume of which appeared in 1691. This is in some respects one of the most memorable works which we have

toire Ecclésiastique et Profane, et des Notes pour éclaircir les difficultez des faits et de la Chronologie. A Paris, 1693—1712. In sixteen volumes 4to.

¹ Histoire Ecclésiastique par M. Fleury, Prêtre, Abbé du Loc-Dieu, Sous-Précepteur de Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne et de Monseigneur le Duc d'Anjou. A Paris, 1691. The last volume (the twentieth), which appeared in 1720. brought down the history to 1414. This edition was in quarto; it has been several times reprinted in a smaller form. The continuation by Fabre (à Paris, 1726—40) is considered an inferior work.

to notice in the progress of Ecclesiastical history in modern times. It was the first which related the fortunes of the Church according to the received laws of historical narrative. The author was an accomplished man of letters, who from his residence in a polite court, and a long intercourse with nobles and princes, had gained elegance and refinement, without losing his personal simplicity, or his studious habits ; and was, accordingly, better fitted to strip Church-history of repulsive peculiarities, than men who had lived exclusively in the university or the cloister. He was a man of piety and sensibility, and his mind was well stored with professional learning. He was already known by his publications on Ecclesiastical subjects and polite literature. In undertaking his great work his views were modest. His object was, he tells us, rather to write a popular account of his subject, than a work of research and erudition¹. But he is a writer of

¹ The following passage of the preface to the first volume deserves attention :—J'écris pour les Chrétiens, qui aiment leur religion, qui veulent s'instruire de plus en plus, et la reduire en pratique. Je n'écris pas toutefois pour les theologiens et les gens de lettres : ils apprendront mieux l'histoire Ecclésiastique dans les auteurs originaux dont je l'ay tirée. Si ce n'est que quelqu'un encore nouveau dans cette étude veuille s'aider de mes citations, pour trouver plus facilement les pièces qu'il doit consulter. J'écris principalement pour ceux de quelque condition qu'ils soient, qui n'ont ni les connoissances nécessaires, ni le loisir, ni la commodité de lire tant de livres ; mais qui ont de la foi, du bon sens, de l'amour pour la vérité ; qui lisent

no ordinary merit. He expressed in an easy and pleasing manner the result of the inquiries of the great scholars of his time, and advantageously introduced Church-history to the students of modern literature. We find in his writings no traces of deep reflection or comprehensive views, no important discoveries or original investigations; but he produced an instructive and entertaining work. His "*Histoire Ecclésiastique*"¹ was edifying, judicious, candid; and favourably exhibited the state of Ecclesiastical knowledge in the church of Rome at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

While the scholars of the Gallican church were thus nobly labouring in the cultivation of Church-history, our own countrymen were not idle in the same cause. During the period now before us, a number of illustrious Englishmen pursued Ecclesias-

pour apprendre des vérités utiles et en devenir meilleurs : qui veulent connoître le Christianisme grand et solide comme il est ; et en séparer tout ce que l'ignorance et la superstition y ont voulu mêler de temps en temps. Je voy bien que cette histoire ne plaira pas aux petits esprits attachés à leurs préjugés, et toujours prêts à condamner ceux qui les veulent désabuser : détournant leurs oreilles de la vérité pour se tourner à des fables ; cherchant des docteurs selon leurs désirs. Ils ne trouveront que trop d'autres livres selon leur goust. C'est pour me rendre utile au commun des personnes sensées que j'écris en François, au hasard de ne pas assés bien exprimer la force du Latin et du Grec, et de m'écarter de la pureté de ma langue.

¹ A new edition is now in course of publication at Paris. See Appendix, Note VV*.

tical studies with characteristic energy and judgment, and produced a series of works which require us still to point to the latter part of the seventeenth century as the brightest age of English learning.

Many of our divines who flourished between the accession of Elizabeth and the Restoration, are justly celebrated for their Ecclesiastical knowledge. A familiar acquaintance with the works of the Fathers, and the other monuments of antiquity, has always distinguished the leading writers of the better schools of Anglican divinity; and the constant allusions to the facts of Ecclesiastical story, which enrich the pages of our most eminent theologians, show the extent to which they cultivated this branch of professional study. But it is not till after the Restoration that we discover the existence of an English school of Church-history. Our earlier writers derived their learning immediately from the sources, or from books which had been written on the continent; and they employed it, for the most part, in the composition of polemical and religious works. With the exception of Bishop Montague¹, we can scarcely name a single person² who directly

¹ *Analecta Ecclesiasticarum Exercitationum contra Baronium*. Londini, 1622. *Antidiatribæ ad diatribas Bullengeri*. Genevæ, 1625. *Apparatus ad Origines Ecclesiasticas*. Collectore R. Montacutio, Oxoniæ, 1635. *Θεολογικόν* : seu de vita Jesu Christi Domini nostri Originum Ecclesiasticarum libri duo. Collectore Richardo Montacutio, Norwic. Episcopo. Londini, 1640.

² The writings of Archbishops Ussher and Laud, of John

contributed to the knowledge of Church-history. The circumstance is at once explained by a reference to the position of the English church. While she was cruelly assailed by external and internal foes, her worthies were too much engaged in providing for her immediate defence, to have leisure for any studies not absolutely needed by their present exigencies.

At the period which I have mentioned, however, a different scene is presented. The church of England, after her temporary overthrow, enjoyed a season of prosperity and peace. Her divines, almost universally emancipating themselves from the trammels of a Protestant scholasticism, which too many of them had hitherto condescended to bear, soared into a higher and purer atmosphere, and asserted her true position as a part of the Catholic Church. New views now opened upon them; new duties were to be performed. The domestic enemy which had for a time been successful, lay exhausted by his own violence. The events of twenty years of confusion furnished the best and most compendious refutation of Puritanism. The Anglican scholars, with conscious superiority, calmly undertook the exposition of their own system, and scarcely deigned to notice the faint struggles of their prostrate foe. An admirable band applied themselves to the illustration of various interesting points of early Church-Selden, and Bishops Jewell, Hall, and Jer. Taylor, are strictly polemical.

history with acuteness and sagacity not inferior to their orthodoxy and learning. Three illustrious prelates deserve particular mention : PEARSON ¹ maintained the genuineness of the earliest remains of Christian Antiquity ; BEVERIDGE ² vindicated the primitive canons ; and BULL ³ defended the orthodoxy of the ante-Nicene divines. While the learned, but eccentric, Irishman, HENRY DODWELL ⁴, cultivated the antiquities of the same period with equal zeal and diligence, though not with equal judgment.

¹ *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii. Cantab. 1672. Annales Cyprianici, prefixed to the Oxford edition of St. Cyprian, 1682. De serie et successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum Dissertationes duæ,—in his Opera Posthuma edited by H. Dodwell in 1688.*

² *Συνδικὸν sive Pandectæ Canonum SS. Apostolorum, et Conciliorum ab Ecclesia Græca receptorum ; nec non Canoniarum SS. Patrum Epistolarum : una cum Scholiis Antiquorum singulis eorum annexis, et Scriptis aliis huc spectantibus : quorum plurima e Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ aliarumque MSS. Codicibus nunc primum edita : reliqua cum iisdem MSS. summa fide et diligentia collata. Totum opus in duos tomos divisum Guilielmus Beveregius Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter recensuit, Prolegomenis munivit, et Annotationibus auxit. Oxonii, 1672. Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Primitivæ vindicatus ac illustratus. Autore Guilielmo Beveregio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero. Londini, 1678.*

³ *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ. Oxon. 1685. Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ trium primorum seculorum de necessitate credendi quod Dominus Noster Jesus Christus sit verus Deus. Oxon. 1694.*

⁴ *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ, appended to the Oxford Cyprian. Dissertationes in Irenæum. Oxon. 1689.*

The name of one Englishman deserves a separate notice. The works of WILLIAM CAVE¹ rank undoubtedly among those which have affected the progress of Church-history. His smaller works greatly tended to extend an acquaintance with Christian Antiquity; his “Lives of the Apostles and Primitive Fathers,” which may be regarded as an Ecclesiastical history of the first four centuries, is to this very day the most learned work of the kind which has been written in our own language; and his “*Historia Literaria*”² is still the best and

¹ Primitive Christianity, or the religion of the ancient Christians in the first ages of the Gospel. London, 1673. *Chartophylax Ecclesiasticus*. Londini, 1674. *Dissertation concerning the Government of the ancient Church*. London, 1683.

Antiquitates Apostolicæ: or, the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the Holy Apostles of our Saviour. To which are added the lives of the two Evangelists SS. Mark and Luke. By William Cave, D.D. Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty. London, 1675.

Apostolici: or the History of the Lives, Acts, Death, and Martyrdoms of those who were contemporary with, or immediately succeeded, the Apostles. As also the most eminent of the Primitive Fathers for the first three hundred years. To which is added, a Chronology of the three first ages of the Church. By William Cave, D.D. London, 1677.

Ecclesiastici: or, the History of the Lives, Acts, Death, and Writings of the most Eminent Fathers of the Church, that flourished in the Fourth Century. Wherein, among other things, an account is given of the rise, growth, and progress of Arianism, and all other sects of that age descending from it. Together with an introduction, containing an historical account of the state of Paganism under the first Christian Emperours. By William Cave, D.D. London, 1683.

² *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria a Christo*

most convenient *complete* work on the literary history of the Church. For extent and variety of learning he stands high among the scholars of his time, and he had taste and feeling to appreciate ancient piety; but he can scarcely claim any other praise. His respect for antiquity sometimes degenerates into mere credulity; while, on the other hand, he is not altogether free from Protestant prejudices; and we look into his works in vain for comprehensive views or independent opinions. Yet his well-directed industry deserves everlasting gratitude. Few writers on these subjects have composed works which have been more permanently useful; and it was a happy circumstance that so popular

nato usque ad Sæculum xiv. facili methodo digesta. Qua de Vita illorum ac rebus gestis, de Secta, Dogmatibus, Elogio, Stylo; de Scriptis genuinis, dubiis, supposititiis, ineditis, deperditis, Fragmentis; deque variis Operum Editionibus perspicue agitur. Accedunt Scriptores Gentiles, Christianæ Religionis Oppugnatores; et cujusvis Sæculi Breviarium. Inseruntur suis locis Veterum aliquot Opuscula et Fragmenta, tum Græca, tum Latina hactenus inedita. Præmissa denique Prolegomena, quibus plurima ad Antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ studium spectantia traduntur. Opus Indicibus necessariis instructum. Autore Guilielmo Cave, SS. Theol. Profes. Canonico Windesoriensi. Accedit ab alia manu Appendix ab ineunte sæculo xiv. ad annum usque MDCXVII. Londini, 1688. A supplement was published in 1698; and the whole was reprinted more than once at Geneva, and Basil. See Walch, Bibl. Theol. iii. 393. The best edition is that of Oxford, 1740. We can look only to Oxford for a new edition adapted to the present state of Ecclesiastical learning. Such a book would be invaluable to the students of Church-history.

a writer should have distinguished himself by his firm adherence to the principles of the Catholic Church.

The contributions which were made by HENRY WHARTON¹ to the "*Historia Literaria*," as well as some of his other works, have secured for that indefatigable and precocious scholar a place among the English writers of Church-history. And the "*Ecclesiastical History*" of LAURENCE ECHARD², though a compilation of little value, was at least an attempt to introduce the discoveries of the continental inquirers to English readers. The history of our own Church was illustrated, or obscured, by Burnet, Strype, Collier, and many other writers. But from the period of the Revolution the English school of Church-history rapidly declined. The noble tree

¹ Appendix ad Historiam Literariam Cl. V. Gulielmi Cave, in qua de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis ab anno mccc. ad annum MDXVII. pari methodo agitur. Authore Henrico Wharton, A. M. Rmo in Christo Patri ac Dno Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi a Sacris Domesticis. Londini, 1689.

² A general Ecclesiastical history from the Nativity of our Blessed Saviour to the first Establishment of Christianity by Human Laws, under the Emperour Constantine the Great. Containing the space of about 313 years. With so much of the Jewish and Roman history as is necessary and convenient to illustrate the work. To which is added a large Chronological Table of all the Roman and Ecclesiastical affairs included in the same period of time. By Lawrence Echard, A.M. Prebendary of Lincoln, and Chaplain to the Right Reverend James, Lord Bishop of that Diocese. London, 1702. fol. It was several times reprinted in 2 vols. 8vo.

which, under the assiduous culture of a generous race of divines, had begun to afford shelter and ornament to the Church of England, withered under the chilling influence of the Latitudinarians. The circumstances of the times rendered mediocrity and plain sense more acceptable to those whose duty it was to protect the interest of the Church, than genius and erudition. The men who most successfully cultivated Ecclesiastical studies, were most of them connected with what was generally regarded as an anti-national party. Patronage was henceforth extended to churchmen of a very different sort. The primacy of Tillotson marked the commencement of a season of decay; and though his three immediate successors¹ were themselves distinguished scholars, it was impossible to stay the malady, which quickly destroyed this noble school of learning.

But, like the tropical sun, it set in a blaze of light. The immortal work² of JOSEPH BINGHAM, though not a Church-history, is one of the most valuable contributions which has ever been made to Ecclesiastical knowledge. His contemporaries, however, ill appreciated his labours. He was allowed

¹ Tenison, 1694; Wake, 1715; Potter, 1736.

² *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*: or, the Antiquities of the Christian Church. London, 1708—22, in ten volumes 8vo. and again in 1726 with his works in 2 vols. fol. The Latin translation, by J. H. Grischovius, has been twice printed in Germany; 1724, and 1751.

to remain in obscurity, and was enabled to complete his great undertaking only by private munificence. Though well known and highly esteemed on the Continent in a Latin translation, at home it had to encounter the neglect of nearly a century. But we are doing justice to Bingham now; and it is matter for sincere rejoicing that the theological students and clergy of the Church of England have at last learned to value the "Christian Antiquities¹."

We return to the Continent, and find that the Protestants have received the impulse which in the latter part of the seventeenth century had been communicated to Ecclesiastical studies, and are warmly pursuing researches in the field so diligently cultivated by the other scholars of Europe. I observed at the conclusion of the last section, that the writers of the Reformed communion had, before the time of Hottinger, produced no considerable work on the general history of the Church. During the period with which we are now concerned, we cannot at all events complain of their silence. In the year 1674, JEAN LE SUEUR commenced in French a work² intended to exhibit a popular

¹ A new edition in eight volumes was published in 1834; and another is announced as being in the press.

² Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire, où depuis la Naissance de Jésus-Christ (jusqu'à la fin du x. Siècle) l'on voit dans chaque année, l'an de Notre Seigneur, de l'Empereur, des Consuls, et du Siège des Evêques de Rome; les Evêques

view of the subject, which he continued to the end of the tenth century. And a few years later, FREDERIC SPANHEIM, of Leyden, a writer of great acuteness and learning, composed in Latin a history of the Church¹. But the work of the latter, which in point of talent has the greater claims to notice, is rather a common-place book of the polemics of Ecclesiastical history than a connected narrative. It was expressly written to refute the misrepresentations of the Romanists, and breathes throughout a controversial spirit utterly inconsistent with the calmness and gravity which ought to prevail in historical composition.

The controversial warfare which was occasioned by the persecuting measures adopted by Louis XIV. towards his Calvinistic subjects, was carried on with

des autres Eglises, les Docteurs, leurs Ecrits, les Hérétiques, les Coûtumes, les Conciles, les Persécutions, les Martyrs, et en un mot les choses les plus remarquables tant de l'Eglise que du Monde. Avec une ample Table des Matières. Par Jean le Sueur. A Genève, 1674 et seq. The first edition was in 4to. The second, 1686, in eight volumes 12mo. A new edition in eight volumes 4to., with a continuation in three more by Benedict Pictet, appeared at Amsterdam in 1730-2.

¹ Friderici Spanhemii F. *Historia Ecclesiastica a nato Christo ad ceptam superiore Sec. Reformationem. Inseruntur Mutationes insigniores in Republica.* I copy this title from the folio edition of his works, tom. i. p. 480. (Lugd. Batavorum, 1701.) But I find from Walch (*Bibl. Theol.* iii. 55.) that the different editions published by the author himself had different titles. The first part seems to have appeared in 1683.

more than common bitterness and animosity. The Protestant writers who took part in it, had most of them suffered from the tyranny of the oppressor. They had been the victims of grievous injustice ; and they were not more affected by a sense of their wrongs, than they were indignant to find insult added to injury, in the affected mildness and moderation of the writings in which some of their most unfeeling and unrelenting enemies appealed to the world. Influenced as they were by the feelings natural to their peculiar circumstances, they were not in a condition to pursue, with success, the study of Church-history. Irritation and resentment ill prepared them for an employ which may well be called sacred. It would have been but pious, if, like the hero of the *Æneid*, they had regarded themselves as polluted, in combating even for their homes, and scrupled to handle a hallowed thing till they were able to think and write with calmness.

Me, bello e tanto digressum et cæde recenti,
Adtrectare nefas ; donec me flumine vivo
Abluero.

But their very unfitness operated as a stimulus to their activity. They were eager to wrest from their antagonists every weapon which could be used against them. They were more anxious to obtain a victory, than scrupulous about the means by which it might be achieved, or solicitous about the consequences by which it might be followed. And,

accordingly, we find that in maintaining their own views of the subject and impugning those of their opponents, they did not hesitate to assail the most venerable facts, nor to call in question the most sacred principles.

The most important work which was produced under the circumstances to which I allude, was the "Histoire de l'Eglise" of the celebrated JACQUES BASNAGE¹. It was professedly written in reply to the "Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes" of Bossuet. He met the argument of that artful attack on protestantism in a way little calculated to serve the cause of Christianity, and followed his countryman Jurieu in plying the invidious task of exposing the inconsistencies of the ancient Church². Anxious at all hazards to gain an advantage over his eloquent opponent, he traces the his-

¹ Histoire de l'Eglise, depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à présent, divisée en quatre parties. La première contient l'histoire du Gouvernement de l'Eglise dans ses diocèses d'Alexandrie, d'Antioche, d'Afrique, des Gaules, de Constantinople, et de Rome. La seconde, l'histoire de ses principaux Dogmes, du Canon des Ecritures, des Traditions, des huit Conciles Œcumeniques, de la Justification, de la Grâce, et de l'Eucharistie. La troisième contient celle de l'adoration du Sacrement, du Culte des Anges, de la Vierge, des Saints, de leurs Reliques, et de leurs Images, depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à la naissance des Albigeois. Et la quatrième, l'histoire des Albigeois, et de la Succession de l'Eglise, jusqu'à présent. Par Monsr. Basnage. A Rotterdam, 1699. 2 vols. folio.

² Appendix, Note WW.

tory of the government, the doctrine and worship of the Church, carefully pointing out the variations which have prevailed in different times and countries. His extensive learning and great acuteness well fitted him for historical inquiries, and I am not aware that there is any reason to suspect his personal orthodoxy. But though bearing the character of a Christian minister, Basnage was a man of the world, and had evidently little feeling for the sacredness of Church-history. His book is not only essentially a work of controversy, but is withal disfigured by the pertness and flippancy not unfrequent in French writers, and an unfortunate tone of levity and satire. An affectation of moderation ill conceals the partisan and the advocate. We look in vain for impartiality in one who displays alternately the capitiousness of the sceptic, and the obstinacy of the bigot. He had no correct conception of the objects of Church-history, nor any acquaintance with the true genius of historical composition; yet his keen and searching exposures of the prejudices of his opponents, and his ingenious vindication of his own, entitle his work to attention. It exercised a considerable influence on future inquirers; but it was an influence which was not salutary. Its effect was rather to retard than accelerate the progress of the science. He was rather a man of detail, than of elevated or comprehensive views; and his example rather tended to perpetuate the polemical manner which others, who made less pretension to

liberality, had begun tacitly to abandon, than to raise his subject to the dignity of genuine history.

The “Annals” of SAMUEL BASNAGE¹, which appeared in 1706, may be described as a work of learning. But the author avowedly wrote with a controversial purpose. He was devoted to the doctrines and discipline of the Reformed communion; and he had not the genius and originality which have sometimes enabled writers of equally exclusive principles, to exert an influence on the whole Christian world.

The domestic differences which exercised the industry and learning of the Lutheran divines, appear to have been the chief cause which prevented their taking an early part in that remarkable revival of Ecclesiastical studies which I have had to notice in the present section. The Syncretistic controversy², which raged so violently in the middle of the seventeenth century, and the disputes with the Pietists³, which were carried on some years later, engrossed

¹ Samuelis Basnagii Flottemanvillæi, Annales Politico-Ecclesiastici Annorum DCXLV. a Cæsare Augusto ad Phocam usque. In quibus Res Imperii Ecclesiæque observatu digniores subjiciuntur oculis, erroresque evelluntur Baronio. Roterodami, 1706. Three vols. fol.

² Mosheim, Instit. Hist. Eccles. Sæc. xvii. Sect. ii. P. ii. C. i. § xxi—xxv. p. 826—830. Vol. iv. p. 29—37. of Maclaine's Translation, Edit. 1826. Schröckh, Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation. Th. iv. S. 688. u. f.

³ Mosheim, ut supra, § xxvi—xxx. p. 830—835. Maclaine, Vol. iv. p. 37—46. Schröckh, Th. viii. S. 254. u. f.

the energy of Protestant Germany; and it was not till the very conclusion of the century that we discover in that country any indications which manifest the existence of a taste for Church-history. During the long interval between the publication of the "Magdeburg Centuries" and this period, the Evangelical church had done scarcely anything for Ecclesiastical learning. Compendiums, indeed, had appeared in abundance¹, vying, as it were, with each other in dryness and tenuity; but scarcely the least disposition had been evinced for original research. The thirty years' war had extended a wide-spread desolation; and when peace and liberty returned, the national temper unhappily found a congenial pursuit in the unprofitable subtleties of philosophical theology. During this season of barrenness, the celebrated GEORG. CALLIXTUS² was almost the only

¹ Schröckh, after complaining of the little that was done for Church-history in Germany during this period, happily remarks: Man wird mir hoffentlich nicht den Entwurf machen, dass doch genug kleine Auszüge und Compendien der Kirchenhistorie in vorigen Jahrhunderte unter uns geschrieben worden sind. Ja wohl genug; aber eben diese sind immer der schlechteste Beweis von dem Fortgange einer Wissenschaft. Sie enthalten meistens nur den bekannten Umfang derselben, nach einer veränderten Ordnung beschrieben, oder mit einem so geringen neuen Zuwachs bereichert, dass er im wenige besondere Anmerkungen hätte gebracht werden können. Kirchengeschichte, Th. i. S. 170.

² Historia de Statu rerum in Ecclesia Occidentali seculis VIII. IX. X. et deinceps, quando Pontificius dominatus et corruptelæ

German writer who contributed to the advancement of Church-history by the production of an original work; and of the numerous compilations, the Gotha Compendium¹, as it is called, was the only one which had any claim to more than ordinary merit. But better times succeeded. By the end of the century the spirit of the Gallican scholars had been transmitted beyond the Rhine; and the Germans at length betook themselves to the study of Ecclesiastical history with characteristic industry. CHRISTIAN KORTHOLT², ADAM RECKENBERG³, THOMAS ITTIG⁴,

invaluerunt. Appended to his *Adparatus Theologicus*, Helmstadii, 1657. Walch, *Bibl. Theol.* iii. 174.

¹ *Compendium Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, decreto Ser. Principis Ernesti in usum Gymnasii Gothani compositum. Gothæ, 1666—70. Walch, *Bibl. Theol.* iii. 53.

² *De vita et moribus, Christianis primævis per Gentilium malitiam afflictis*. Kilonii, 1683, 4to. And several other works on the primitive Church.

³ *Summarium Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*. Lipsiæ, 1697, 12mo. Of this there have been eight or nine editions. But his *Dissertationes Historico-politiæ* are regarded as the most valuable of his works.

⁴ *Dissertatio de Hæresiarchis Ævi Apostolici et Apostolico proximi; seu primi et secundi a Christo nato Seculi*. Lipsiæ, 1690, 4to. *De Bibliothecis et Catenis Patrum, variisque veterum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum collectionibus Tractatus*. Lipsiæ, 1707, 8vo. An exceedingly useful work. *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ primi a Christo nato Seculi Selecta Capita*, delineata studio D. Thomæ Ittigii, Superint. et Theologiæ Professoris in Ecclesia et Academia Patria Lipsiensi. Præmissa est ejusdem de Scriptoribus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ recentioribus

and JOHANN ANDREAS SCHMID¹, distinguished themselves by works of real and extensive erudition, and opened a new career to the enterprise and perseverance of their countrymen.

Valuable, however, as were the services of these eminent men, and greatly as we are indebted to the founders of a new school of solid learning, the utmost they did was to bring up their countrymen to the point already attained elsewhere, without enriching their subject with any new discoveries, or treating it in an improved or novel method. The work written in this part of Europe which excited the greatest attention, and produced the greatest and most permanent effects, was written by a person greatly their inferior in acquirements, and, perhaps, in talents. Revolutionists have rarely been men of unusual learning or the highest order of abilities; and it was nothing less than a revolution which GOTTFRIED ARNOLD attempted in Church-history. The excitement occasioned by the opinions and

Dissertatio. Lipsiæ, 1709, 4to. A posthumous volume, containing the history of the second century, and a dissertation on the ancient Ecclesiastical historians, was published in 1711. Several of his other works are also important.

¹ *Compendium Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*. Helmstadii, 1701, 8vo. Several times reprinted. *Sagittarianæ Introductionis in Historiam Ecclesiasticam, tomus ii. exhibens Supplementa tomi primi et ejusdem Continuationem de Conciliis et Colloquiis*. Curante Jo. Andr. Schmidio, D. PP. Ord. Theol. in Academia Julia Seniore et Abbate Mariævallensi. Jenæ, 1718.

conduct of the Pietists, important as it has been in its effects to Christianity in Germany, produced at the time nothing more remarkable than the writings of this extraordinary man. He had, early in life, become connected with that party; and he appears to have surpassed them all in hostility to the prevailing methods of studying theology, and in attachment to the visionary principles of the mystics. Notwithstanding all his inconsistencies, he seems to have been a disinterested and pious man: and it is not unlikely that the irritating disease which brought him to the grave at the age of eight-and-forty, produced the most unsatisfactory points in his character. Regarding the conduct of the clergy as the chief obstacle to the attempts made by Spener and his associates to procure a reformation of the Lutheran church, and provoked by the charges of heresy with which those indefatigable, and, many of them, most excellent men, were assailed by the same body, he composed an elaborate work on Ecclesiastical history, in which he endeavoured to show that the clergy of all ages had been the principal enemies of vital religion; and that the persons who, by the influence of the priesthood, had been branded as heretics, were, for the most part, men of unusual piety, of whom an evil world was not worthy, and whose views and conduct it could not understand. His book was intitled an "Impartial History of the Church and the Here-

tics¹;" yet there was never, perhaps, a book more singularly deficient in impartiality. From first to last he never loses sight of his main object—constantly putting in the most suspicious and odious light the conduct of the spirituality, and palliating or justifying the opinions of the heretical sects².

Though the orthodox of every age were the favourite objects of his insinuations and invective, his own communion had the greatest cause to complain of his unfairness. It was the Lutheran doctors who were treated with the greatest severity,

¹ It was originally printed at Frankfort on the Main, in 1699, 1700. But my copy belongs to the Schaffhausen edition of 1740—42, said to be the fourth; which, in three large folios, contains not only the author's improvements, but the principal pieces written in the controversy occasioned by the appearance of the work. The title is, *Gottfried Arnold's unpartheyische Kirchen-und-Ketzerhistorien, vom Anfang des neuen Testaments biss auf das Jahr Christi, 1688. bey dieser neuen Auflage, an vielen Orten, nach dem Sinn und Verlangen des seel. Auctoris, verbessert, vermehret, und in bequembere Ordnung gebracht, und mit dessen Bildnus und Lebenslauff gezieret.*

² The author of the panegyrical account of his life, prefixed to the edition of his work which I have before me, thus fairly describes its object: *Das gantze Werck dieses Buchs aber gehet dahin, zu beweisen: (1.) Dass oft mancher Gottseliger erleuchteter Mann, wie Christus Jesus und seine Jünger und Apostel, unschuldig verketzert werden. (2.) Dass die Vorsteher der Kirchen, Bischöffe, Hirten und Lehrer insgemein die Verfolger der wahren Christen gewesen, und Spaltungen angerichtet. (3.) Dass die Concilien und Synoden meistens aus zanksuchtigen Leuten, die Gottes Geist nicht gehabt haben, bestanden.*

and the Lutheran institutions which were most cruelly exposed. It was, indeed, this bold attack on his own communion which made his book notorious, and procured for its principles an opportunity to do their work. The part which treats of the ancient Church is of no great extent, and displays but moderate learning. His apologies for the heretical teachers show no extraordinary acuteness or originality¹. The personalities, however, were more piquant than the paradoxes. Together, they were amply sufficient to make amends for the dulness of the mysticism. Though it excited a storm of opposition², though it raised against the author a host of adversaries³, and found few willing publicly to defend it, it ultimately had its full effect. At first its influence seemed beneficial. It stimulated more learned and judicious men to attempt a real reform. But

¹ Appendix, Note XX.

² The violence with which the controversy was conducted may be estimated from the following remarks of Ittigius, a moderate writer. *Nihil minus est hæc ecclesiastica historia, quam eine unpartheyische Historie.* Omnis candor, omnis fides hic prorsus exulat. Mendaciis, calumniis, variisque strophis, falsis allegationibus, corruptis, mutilatis, in alienum sensum detortis Autorum verbis, omnia sunt referta. *Κυβεία et πανουργία πρὸς τὴν μεθοδεῖαν τῆς πλάνης* utramque in hoc opere facit paginam. *Hist. Eccles. Sel. Cap. Tom. i. Præf. § 68.*

³ The pieces which appeared in the controversy are enumerated by Ittigius (*Hist. Eccles. Sel. Cap. Tom. i. Præf. § 68*), Schmid (*Supplem. Sagittar. Introd. in Hist. Eccles. p. 189—194*), and Walch (*Bibl. Theol. iii. 130—5*).

its natural consequences at length became apparent. It had set the fatal example of unbounded scepticism, and must be stigmatized as the first effort in the crusade against every thing holy and venerable, which has since been carried on with so much success in Protestant Germany.

Arnold himself, however, scarcely deserves the praise or blame with which we should mark our estimate of the consequences of his undertaking. He was but the instrument of a more able man. CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS, under whose advice and guidance he wrote, had indeed formed a regular plan for lowering the authority of the clergy, and diffusing his anti-ecclesiastical principles. Yet the full extent of the effect of the work was probably not foreseen or intended even by Thomasius. The shaft aimed at a vulgar combatant has ere now brought down a hero, and determined the fate of a battle; and the book which Arnold wrote to expose the Lutheran clergy, brought about the greatest change ever effected in Church-history. He laboured only for a present purpose. He was too much of an enthusiast to be actuated by ulterior views. It was in the spirit of a Carolstadt that he entered the temple armed with the weapons of destruction: though he dashed in pieces the images, and cast out every thing which he looked upon as an abomination, he deemed himself the while engaged in a work of purification, not of sacrilege;

and blind as was his indiscriminating violence, and actuated as he was by human passions, he regarded himself as engaged in the cause of God. He laboured only for a present purpose. He saw not that some would raise from the ruins which he had made, a fairer edifice ; nor that others would employ the weapons of which he had taught the use, in assailing Christianity. But though we may acquit him of deliberate mischief, his name must remain inseparably connected with what we shall have most to deplore in the succeeding period. His violent attack broke the spell, which as yet had bound the great body of Protestants to antiquity. The Lutherans had hitherto, from what some will call superstition, and others Christian feeling, uniformly entertained a deep respect for the ancient Church. This feeling was now violated. A principle so subtle and delicate was easily destroyed ; and when there was no filial reverence to aid the sense of duty, Church-history was soon divested of its sacredness, and degraded into a branch of merely human knowledge.

In the mean time, in another part of Europe, a more celebrated scholar was exercising a more direct, and, at the time at least, a still more noxious influence on the study of Christian antiquity. Gottfried Arnold, though a rash enthusiast, was, after all, a serious and well-intentioned man : JEAN LE CLERC was a heartless sceptic. Born and educated

at Geneva, he proceeded through every degree of the descending scale of religious opinion. Connected, during the greater part of his life, by profession and office with the Remonstrants of Holland, he scarcely disguised his real Socinianism or infidelity. The dangerous nature of his theological views is well known. For an estimate of his scholarship, I need only refer to Bishop Monk ¹, and for an exposure of his anti-patristic principles to Muratori ². His various information, and his lively, confident manner, procured him a reputation much higher than was due to his actual learning and talents; and the influence which he exercised upon the republic of letters, by means of his intimate connexion with the periodical works of his day, was almost incalculable. That influence he unhappily exerted in one long and consistent attempt to undermine the foundations of orthodoxy, and to diffuse universal uncertainty and doubt. His writings on Church-history ³ breathe the same spirit

¹ Life of Bentley, vol. i. p. 267, et seq. Edit. 1833.

² Lud. Ant. Muratorii de Ingeniorum Moderatione in Religionis negotio libri tres, ubi, quæ jura, quæ fræna sint homini Christiano in inquirenda, et tradenda veritate ostenditur, et S. Augustini Doctrina a multiplici censura Joannis Phereponi vindicatur. First published under the assumed name of Laminus Pritanius in 1714, in reply to the Appendix of the Amsterdam reprint of the Benedictine edition of St. Augustine, which was written by Le Clerc under the name of Joannes Phereponus. See Walch. Bibl. Patrist. p. 121.

³ The principal of them were the lives of Clement of Alex-

as his theological works. Though they had little real merit, they had a plausibility which caused them to be regarded as impartial and philosophical. They greatly contributed to make the students of Ecclesiastical history familiar with sceptical views; and it is not too much to say that they tended to degrade it from its high and holy office, and pervert it into an instrument of sophistry and error.

In concluding the section, I may remark, that sound criticism, and correct and enlightened views had, during this period, made a rapid progress. Many prejudices had been abandoned, many new truths had been brought to light, and the whole subject had been divested in a great measure of scholastic peculiarities, and made a branch of polite learning. Much indeed remained to be done: many facts required fresh examination, much was yet to undergo the ordeal of controversy, and there was still great deficiency of real liberality and impartiality. But, upon the whole, a very decided improvement had been effected in the treatment of this department of history. At the same time, however, we have to regret that in some quarters a bad spirit had already become apparent. If old prejudices had been given up, new ones, not less

andria and Eusebius, and other articles of a similar nature, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Historique*, between 1686 and 1693; and *Historia Ecclesiastica duorum primorum a Christo nato seculorum, e veteribus monumentis deprompta*. Amstelodami, 1716, 4to.

contrary to the truth, had been adopted in their stead ; free inquiry had been already perverted into licentious spéculation ; and we are by no means unprepared for the unhappy spectacle which will demand so much of our attention in the next section.

SECTION III.

FROM A.D. 1715 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

NEW CONDITION OF LITERATURE—DECLINE OF THE GALLICAN SCHOOL OF CHURCH-HISTORY — EFFORTS OF THE ITALIAN SCHOLARS—FRENCH PROTESTANTS—PROGRESS OF CHURCH-HISTORY IN GERMANY—WEISMANN—MOSHEIM—STATE OF ECCLESIASTICAL LEARNING IN ENGLAND—NEW GERMAN SCHOOL—SEMLER—SCHRÖCKH—THE RATIONALISTS—HENKE—J. E. C. SCHMIDT—GERMAN ROMAN CATHOLIC WRITERS—PRESENT STATE OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN GERMANY—IN ENGLAND—HOPES AND PROSPECTS.

THE progress of Church-history was greatly affected by the important changes, the result of causes now in active operation, which about this time took place in the condition of European literature. From the triumph of Christianity over Paganism till the latter part of the seventeenth century, the literature of the West had been universally pervaded by the influence of religion. Though the ardent study of the philosophical and æsthetical works of antiquity since the general revival of classical learning, had tended to give currency to principles and feelings

altogether alien to the spirit of the Gospel, still the writers who had least claim to be regarded as religious men, treated it with respect, and professed to acknowledge its obligation. But as literature was more cultivated, it became more secular. It gradually threw off the restraints of religion, too often those of morality and decency; and from the beginning of the eighteenth century, the writers who attained the greatest celebrity distinguished themselves by an avowed hostility to Christianity. This, however, was not all. The very objects and materials of literature were changed. The modern languages were now enriched by translations and imitations of the ancients, as well as original works. It had become possible to acquire information, and gratify a literary taste, without the painful study which had been exercised by the men of letters of earlier times. A new race arose who employed in mischievous speculations, or idle dissipation, the energy which had been hitherto more profitably devoted to the acquirement of a critical acquaintance with the classical tongues, and the patient accumulation of materials. With minds unused to labour, unexercised by the salutary discipline of logic and philology, and often enfeebled by habitual intercourse with circles in which every thing like learning and lofty feeling was treated as pedantic and visionary, they attempted to substitute superficial information and flimsy sophistry for solid

learning and substantial truth. They laboured with too much success in their miserable vocation. A sensual and corrupt age was ready to sympathize with them in their attacks on whatever was exalted and dignified, to admire their ignorant contempt of superior excellence, and to admit the principles of universal scepticism. The influence of this state of things, wherever it prevailed, was soon fatal to Church-history. The real scholars and sound reasoners who yet remained, had enough to do in combating the new philosophy,—if they had courage enough to encounter a party who despised the decencies of literary warfare. The greatest part of Europe entirely abandoned Ecclesiastical studies. Germany, which for a while escaped the contagion, and the religious orders of the church of Rome, were left alone to cultivate the history of the Church.

The high reputation for Ecclesiastical learning which had been obtained by the Gallican scholars in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was scarcely maintained by their successors. The Benedictines of St. Maur were, indeed, for some time longer actively engaged in the pursuits which had so honourably distinguished their congregation. Their editions of the Fathers¹ still excited the admiration of those who felt an interest in their labours; and several learned works on subjects

¹ Appendix, Note YY.

connected with Ecclesiastical history, especially the "*Histoire Littéraire de la France* ¹," and the "*Art de vérifier les Dates* ²," showed that the spirit raised among them by the precepts and example of Mabillon and Montfaucon, was not yet extin-

¹ *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, où l'on traite de l'Origine et du Progrès, de la Décadence et du Rétablissement des Sciences parmi les Gaulois et parmi les François; du Goût et du Génie des uns et des autres pour les Lettres en chaque siècle; de leurs anciennes Ecoles; de l'établissement des Universités en France; des principaux Collèges; des Académies des Sciences et des Belles-Lettres; des meilleures Bibliothèques anciennes et modernes, des plus célèbres Imprimeries; et de tout ce qui a un rapport particulier à la Littérature. Avec les Eloges historiques des Gaulois et des François qui s'y sont fait quelque réputation; le Catalogue et la Chronologie de leurs écrits; des remarques historiques et critiques sur les principaux Ouvrages; le Dénombrement des différentes éditions: le tout justifié par les citations des Originaux. Par des Religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint Maur. A Paris, 1783—1763. In twelve quartos, written as far as the ninth volume by Antoine Rivet, and continued by Taillandier and Clémencet. See Tassin, *Hist. Lit. de la Congrégation de S. Maur*, p. 667.

² *L'Art de vérifier les Dates des Faits Historiques, des Chartres, des Chroniques, et autres anciens Monumens depuis la Naissance de Notre-Seigneur, par le moyen d'une Table Chronologique, &c. &c.* Par des Religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint Maur. A Paris, 1750, 4to. It was commenced by Dantine, and completed and edited by Clémencet. See Tassin, *ut supra*, p. 637. A new edition in folio, greatly enlarged by Clément, was published in 1770. An edition has appeared in the present century (à Paris, 1818, 19) in eighteen volumes 8vo. Edited by M. Viton de Saint-Allais.

guished. But the works which were written subsequently to the commencement of the period upon which we now enter, directly on the history of the Church, were for the most part of a character decidedly inferior to those which were due to the great men of the Gallican school. The "*Histoire de l'Eglise*" of CHOISY¹ was altogether of a popular nature; and the "*Histoire des Auteurs Sacrés*" of the laborious CEILLIER², though admirable in its design, evinces more industry than accuracy or judgment. The books written on the subject by later French Roman Catholics are little known, and have exercised no perceptible influence on the progress of Ecclesiastical studies.

The works of Muratori and other learned natives of Italy, in the early part of the eighteenth century, led to the more active cultivation of Ecclesiastical

¹ *Histoire de l'Eglise*, par l'Abbe Choisy. A Paris, 1703—23. In eleven vols. 4to. It brought down the history to the year 1715.

² *Histoire des Auteurs Sacrés et Ecclésiastiques*, qui contient leur Vie, le Catalogue, la Critique, le Jugement, la Chronologie, l'Analyse, et le Dénombrement des différentes éditions de leurs ouvrages; ce qu'ils renferment de plus intéressant sur le dogme, sur la morale, et sur la discipline de l'Eglise; l'histoire des Conciles tant généraux que particuliers, et les actes choisis des martyrs. Par le R. P. Dom Remi Ceillier, Bénédictin de la Congrégation de Saint Vannes et de Saint Hydulphe, Prieur Titulaire de Flavigny. A Paris, 1729—63. In twenty-three volumes 4to. The last of these comes down only to the twelfth century. A volume of indices was published in 1782.

History in that part of Europe. The Oratorian LADERCHIUS¹ continued the annals of Baronius and Raynaldus; the Dominican ORSI² began in his native language a most copious history of the Church, which was continued by BECCHETTI³; and at a somewhat later period another learned Oratorian, SACHARELLI⁴, wrote in Latin an equally extensive work. But the labours of these industrious scholars had little influence on the progress of Church-history; they scarcely carried their subject beyond the point which it had attained in France at the close of the preceding century, and, with the

¹ *Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno 1566, ubi Odericus Raynaldus desinit; Auctore Jacobo de Laderchio Faventino Congregationis Oratorii Presbytero.* Tom. xxii. Romæ, 1728, folio. tom. xxiii. 1733, and tom. xxiv. 1737. In these three folio volumes, this most prolix of authors includes the history of only six years.

² *La Istoria Ecclesiastica descritta da F. Giuseppe Agostino Orsi dell' Ordine de' Predicatori Segretario della Sac. Congreg. dell' Indice.* In Roma, 1746, twenty-one volumes 4to. In the title of the twenty-first volume he is described as Cardinale di S. Sisto, Accademico della Crusca. It appeared in 1762, and comes down to the year 656. See Appendix, Note ZZ.

³ *La Istoria Ecclesiastica dell' Eminentissimo Cardinale Giuseppe Agostino Orsi dell' Ordine de' Predicatori proseguita da Filippo Angelico Becchetti.* In Roma, 1770—78, 10 vols. 4to. I have seen no more than these, which come down to 1138. But Stäudlin says there were 26 published.

⁴ *Historia Ecclesiastica per annos digesta variisque observationibus illustrata.* Romæ, 1771—96. It comes down to the year 1185; in twenty-five volumes 4to.

exception of Laderchius, they have been little known beyond the limits of their native peninsula.

The writers on Church-history whose works obtained most attention at the commencement of this period, and produced the most striking and manent effects, were French Protestants. I have already had occasion to complain of the tone and spirit of this school. In the authors to whom I now refer the offensive peculiarities are more decided and prominent. It would sometimes seem as if they had actually adopted the principles of their deistical contemporaries, for they not unfrequently allude to the most sacred subjects with actual sarcasm, or that affected respect which ill conceals contempt. The writings in which JEAN BARBEYRAC¹ attacked the "Morality of the Fathers," deficient as he was in the higher qualifications requisite for such investigations as he attempted, display some acuteness and learning, and gave a strong impulse

¹ Preface to his French translation of Puffendorf's work "*De Jure Naturæ et Gentium*," Amsterdam, 1712. *Traité de la Morale des Pères de l'Eglise : où, en défendant un Article de la Préface sur Puffendorf, contre l'Apologie de la Morale des Pères du P. Ceillier, Religieux Bénédictin de la Congrégation de St. Vanne et de St. Hydulphe, on fait diverses réflexions sur plusieurs matières importantes. Par Jean Barbeyrac, Professeur en Droit à Groningue, et Membre de la Société Roiale des Sciences à Berlin.* A Amsterdam, 1728, 4to. There are some able remarks on the Preface to Puffendorf in Waterland "*on the Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity.*" Works, vol. v. pp. 294—311.

to the disposition, already sufficiently apparent, to disparage the authority of the ancient Christian doctors. The works of the learned ex-Benedictine MATURIN VEYSSIER LA CROZE¹ gave currency to the sneers with which a generation of shallow and ignorant writers, who mistook the real nature and genius of history, had already begun to assail the controversies respecting the doctrine of the Incarnation. And the well known history of Manichæism of ISAAC BEAUSOBRE², though a model of patient and minute research, breathes a spirit of scepticism more calculated to mislead and embarrass the honest inquirer than to serve the cause of truth. But before the middle of the century this school had become extinct³; and it is not too much to say

¹ *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes* ; par M. V. la Croze, Bibliothécaire et Antiquaire du Roi de Prusse. A la Haye, 1724, 12mo. *Histoire du Christianisme d’Ethiopie et d’Arménie*. A la Haye, 1739, 12mo.

² *Histoire Critique de Manichée et du Manichéisme*. Par M. de Beausobre. A Amsterdam, 1734—39. Two vols. 4to. It is in a great measure an apology for the Manicheans. Like the other writers of this class, Beausobre could feel nothing but good-will for those whose only crime was blasphemy. See Appendix, Note AAA.

³ The later Ecclesiastical historians of the Reformed communion were not Frenchmen. J. A. Turretin, Jablonsky, and Venema, were more connected with the German schools. Though all of them learned men, their works may be regarded rather as showing that Church-history was not neglected by the Reformed, than as having contributed to its progress. The more recent German writers of this communion have been so connected

that it never produced a single writer, who appears to have been impressed with a due sense of the dignity and sacredness of Ecclesiastical history.

But in the meantime the learned men of Germany, the worthy successors of Kortholt and Ittigius, were laying the deep foundations on which has since been erected the imposing fabric of the modern school. Johann Albrecht Fabricius¹, Ernst Salomo Cyprian, Johann Franz Buddeus, Johann Christoph Wolf, and a number of other scholars, were actively engaged in Ecclesiastical studies. They were nearly all firmly attached to the orthodox views of doctrine, and pursued their researches in the true spirit of learning. Though no one of them wrote a general history of the Church, their labours had no common influence on the progress of Church-history. The works of Fabricius especially, distinguished as they are by unbounded learning, unaffected impartiality, and simple piety, have had a very great share in everything which can fairly be called an improvement in these pursuits, and have tended in no small degree to facilitate reference to the ultimate sources of information. Happy would it have been for the cause of truth if their successors had been content to imitate such models, and to carry on

with the Lutherans (even before the union in Prussia), that it is scarcely worth while to attempt to mark the distinction.

¹ His "*Bibliotheca Græca*," and "*Bibliotheca Latina Mediæ et Infimæ Ætatis*," are absolutely indispensable to the student of Ecclesiastical history.

their inquiries in a sober spirit of investigation. But to rival the learning of these eminent men was no easy matter. Distinction was more cheaply purchased by the invention of paradox and the vindication of error. A few dangerous examples in this department of knowledge excited the awakening intellect of Germany, and at length hurried it for a time in willing captivity through the wildest delusions.

The scholars of whom I now speak were contemporaries of Gottfried Arnold; some of them were actually his opponents; and all of them distinguished themselves by writings which presented a remarkable contrast to the crude and presumptuous speculations of that enthusiastic writer. Yet his work had already begun to exercise an influence upon the cultivation of Church-history. The scholastic method in which it had hitherto been written, especially in Germany, was henceforth abandoned. The various parts of the subject were successively submitted to more careful examination; and many points, heretofore almost unchallenged were given up as untenable. All the German writers ascribe to the work of Arnold¹ the effects which now became from time to time more visible. "His bitter and

¹ As the work of Arnold is almost unknown in this country, I am glad to have the opportunity of fortifying my own views by the opinions of the German writers. There was, however, an attempt made towards an English translation. There is in the British Museum a pamphlet with the following title: "Certain

spiteful criticism," says Schröckh¹, "have gradually led us much nearer to that impartiality, which he himself could not attain, and which very few of our old historians could boast of. While he brought to light much to the dishonour of the clergy, we learned to accustom ourselves, by no means to give it entire credit, but to institute freer inquiries respecting the men, whose memory in Church-history had hitherto been upheld as famous and almost sacred, and whose merits we had not, up to that time, ventured to regard otherwise than all preceding centuries. Between his bold impetuosity and the usual timidity in criticism, there soon appeared a middle way in which we could walk more safely. We certainly found no reason with him to hold

Queries, with their respective Answers ; by way of Introduction to the Reverend Mr. Godfrey Arnold's Impartial History of the Church and Heretics, from the commencement of the New Testament, to the Year of our Lord, 1688. Faithfully translated, in a concise manner, from the High-Dutch. London, 1744." In the "Advertisement, to all unprejudiced Readers of what Persuasions soever," the Translator says, that "he proposes, if he meets with any reasonable encouragement, to print this Ecclesiastical History, with the same letter, and on the same paper, as these Queries, which are here offered as a specimen of the work, in six volumes *octavo*. Such as are inclined to become Subscribers, are desired to send in their names and places of abode as soon as possible, since a great part of the copy is actually prepared for the press." The plan probably did not meet with "reasonable encouragement," for it was not executed.

¹ Kirchengeschichte, Th. i. S. 184.

guiltless all teachers of error and inventors of extraordinary notions of belief; but yet we began to write their history with more equity and mildness; we listened from that time more dispassionately to what can be alleged for their exculpation, acquitted many of them of malicious perversions of religion, and confessed that they have been too often treated with harshness and injustice; that their confused notions, their inflamed imagination, and sometimes their unintelligible expressions, might require some indulgence, and more favourable interpretations." "In fact," says Stäudlin¹, "he effected a revolution in this science; he caused much, which before his time seemed to have been brought to perfection, to be submitted to a new examination, and even brought many new truths into Church-history. Though he was himself partial, he greatly contributed by his work gradually to introduce more impartiality and less exclusiveness into the history of the Church." Though these learned writers describe as improvements many things which we regard as sacrifices of the truth, and dignify with the name of impartiality what we look upon as mere indifferentism, the fact which they notice can scarcely be questioned. The effect of Arnold's work was in the first instance to stimulate inquiry, and introduce greater candour. I should not have complained of it as I have done in the preceding section, if its wild doubts and

¹ Geschichte und Literatur der Kirchengeschichte, S. 157.

groundless charges had not still more plainly tended to produce, as they ultimately did produce, the worst excesses of the Rationalist school of Church-history.

The first complete work on the general history of the Church, which appeared in Germany after the commencement of the eighteenth century, proceeded from the school of the Pietists. CHRISTIAN EBERHARD WEISMANN treated Ecclesiastical history with a direct view to personal edification. He was a well informed and pious writer. And though his book¹ does not display any great talent or learning, it was written in a tone and spirit well suited to the subject. But it had the defects as well as the merits of the party to which the author belonged. He was always ready to exalt practical piety at the expense of verbal orthodoxy; and his reflections were sometimes but too calculated to prepare his readers for receiving with less suspicion the liberal views of more *enlightened* inquirers².

But we have now arrived at an important period in the progress of Church-history. Before we notice

¹ *Introductio in Memorabilia Ecclesiastica Historiæ Sacræ Novi Testamenti; maxime vero seculorum primorum et novissimorum, ad juvandam notitiam regni Dei et Satanæ cordisque humani salutarem concinnata.* Tubingæ, 1718—19. Two volumes 4to. Reprinted in 1745.

² The learned and ingenious treatise of Christian August Salig, "De Eutychnismo ante Eutychem, Wolfenbutelæ, 1723," was nearly the first indication of the existence of a liberal school in Germany.

the extravagancies of the later writers, we can pause with pleasure on an illustrious name, and pay a grateful tribute of admiration to one of the most distinguished of the Ecclesiastical historians. Extensive learning, uncommon sagacity, and ready eloquence, have very rarely been so happily combined as they were in JOHANN LORENZ MOSHEIM. His philosophical mind gave to Church-history the form and method of a science; and his works on the subject exhibit a range of erudition, an accuracy of statement, and comprehensive views, which command the most profound respect; while they breathe withal a spirit of candour and moderation, which scarcely allows us to withhold from him our esteem and confidence. In a long and eager course of study, he had made himself acquainted with every kind of information which bore on the knowledge of Ecclesiastical history. He was qualified alike by his learning and his penetration to perceive the deficiencies of his predecessors. All that erudition, and talent, and knowledge of mankind could do, he was himself able to supply; and if his imaginative and moral powers had been as lofty and delicate as his intellectual, he would have wanted nothing that is required in the consummate writer of Church-history. But the historian should have some sympathy with the aspirations of genius; and there are matters of still greater importance in Ecclesiastical story which are cognizable only by the spiritual taste; whereas Mosheim was altogether

a *practical* man. Though he was undoubtedly orthodox in his principles, and though we trace throughout his works a straightforward honesty and love of truth, he was not free from *liberal* prejudices. To say nothing of his attachment to the views of Ecclesiastical polity which he derived from his education, he speaks with unbecoming levity of the early Christian writers, he did not duly appreciate the importance of the controversies respecting the Trinity and the Incarnation, he had no clear conception of the position of the Church during the Middle Ages. But the great fault of his writings¹ is the absence of religious feeling. It is true that his works on Ecclesiastical history are mostly of an academical nature, and that the one² by which he is best known was intended merely as a text-book³. They might have been, they ought to have been, composed in a more religious spirit. Our relations with Heaven cannot, under any circumstances, be treated as a bare point of human science. The writer of Church-history, who is not

¹ Mosheim's works on Church-history are very numerous. I have enumerated several of them in the Index of Eccles. Historians. The Indiculus appended to the second edition of his *Institutiones Hist. Eccles.*, enumerates eighty-five articles, a large proportion of which relate to ecclesiastical subjects.

² *Institutionum Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ antiquæ et recentioris libri quatuor ex ipsis fontibus insigniter emendati, plurimis accessionibus locupletati, variis observationibus illustrati.* Helmstadii, 1755.

³ Appendix, Note BBB.

uniformly pious, must sometimes be profane. And many a Christian student has observed with regret, the coldness which prevails through the works of Mosheim. But the services which he rendered to Church-history, have secured him a lasting reputation. He taught the historians of the Church to trace events to their causes, and to examine the various relations of the circumstances which it was their business to record. He set the example of regarding this subject as a great whole, and of treating the different parts with discrimination and candour. His "Institutes of Ecclesiastical History," in spite of its formal and artificial arrangement, is still in many respects the first work of its class. And if our theological students must needs obtain an acquaintance with Ecclesiastical history from compendiums and foreigners, they cannot even yet be referred to a safer and better guide ¹.

This casual allusion to our own circumstances affords a suitable opportunity to notice the condition of Ecclesiastical learning in England after the first years of the eighteenth century. It is an

¹ The faults and deficiencies of Maclaine's translation, by which since 1765 Mosheim has been known to English readers, have been often noticed. It seems to have been the miserable ambition of that translator to make the venerable chancellor of Göttingen speak the flippant language of an "esprit fort." It is but just to the memory of a great man to observe, that there is very often no equivalent whatever in the original for the silly stuff of the English version.

unpleasing topic, and I readily seize the first occasion of discharging a painful duty which I may not avoid. I have already had to regret the decline of the Anglican school of Church-history. I must now deplore its extinction. WATERLAND¹, who died in 1740, was the last of our great patristical scholars. The pieces written by other authors, which appeared in the controversies in which he was engaged, had little permanent value. The long controversy with the Deists, which in one form or other engrossed the attention of the most eminent of our divines nearly to the end of the century, produced nothing of an ecclesiastical nature but the "Julian"² of Bishop WARBURTON, and the ingenious writings of the dissenter LARDNER³. The works which were composed expressly in illustration

¹ Waterland may himself be ranked among the Ecclesiastical historians, as the author of the "Critical History of the Athanasian Creed," (Works, vol. iv.) first published in 1723. See Bishop Van Mildert's Life of Waterland (prefixed to the Oxford edition of his Works), p. 106.

² Julian: or a Discourse concerning the Earthquake and Fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, &c. By the Rev. Mr. Warburton, Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. London, 1750, 8vo.

³ The Credibility of the Gospel History, Part II. London, 1733—55, 12 vols. 4to. A Large Collection of Ancient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies to the Truth of the Christian Religion. London, 1764—67, 4 vols. 4to. The History of the Heretics of the two first Centuries after Christ. London, 1780. A posthumous work in one volume 4to.

of Church-history, were little calculated to serve the cause of truth. The "Remarks ¹" of JORTIN ² are a vulgar caricature, distinguished not more for their heartlessness and the absence of every noble feeling, than for the author's shameful ignorance of the subject which he presumed to handle. GIBBON ³ studied the history of the Church only to employ his learning in assailing a religion whose morality he abhorred. And MILNER ⁴, estimable as he was for his piety, produced a work which merely proved how strangely he was destitute of the information most indispensable in the Ecclesiastical historian. Church-history was little likely to advance under such guidance. For a long season other pursuits entirely engrossed the genius and industry of our countrymen; and our own times have first witnessed the attempt to recall the attention of English

¹ Remarks on Ecclesiastical History. London, 1751—73, 5 vols. 8vo.

² For an able and eloquent exposure of Jortin, I refer to Mr. Rose's "Lecture on the Study of Church-history," pp. 56—60.

³ The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: London, 1776—88, 6 vols. 4to.

⁴ The History of the Church of Christ. By Joseph Milner, M.A. Master of the Grammar School in Kingston-upon-Hull. 1794—1803. In four volumes 8vo. Dean Milner published a volume of a continuation in 1809. The controversy occasioned by Mr. Rose's Lecture at Durham in 1834, is too recent for me to wish to add anything to what I have said in the text.

readers to the deep importance of Ecclesiastical studies.

But we return to Germany, where about the same time as Mosheim, CHRISTOPH MATTHÄUS PFAFF ¹, SIEGMUND JACOB BAUMGARTEN ², and JOHANN GEORG WALCH ³, distinguished themselves by the zealous cultivation of Church-history; and a few years later, CHRISTIAN WILHELM FRANZ WALCH ⁴, the German Tillemont, the son of the last-named writer, commenced his active and successful career of Ecclesiastical investigation. These able men, while they exercised a bold and searching criticism, all remained true to the principles, of the orthodox theology, and sought reputation by the straight road of accurate and solid learning.

But we have now reached the limit of the orthodox period ⁵, and must be content for a while to learn the melancholy, though instructive, lesson

¹ Institutiones Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ. Tubingæ, 1721.

² Breviarium Historiæ Christianæ. Halæ, 1754.

³ Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti. Jenæ, 1744.

⁴ Entwurf einer vollständiger Historie der Kezereien, Spaltungen und Religionstreitigkeiten, bis auf die Zeiten der Reformation. Leipzig, 1762—85. The eleven volumes (8vo) which were published, came down only to the ninth century, and the last was posthumous. This is C. W. F. Walch's principal work, but several of his other works are important.

⁵ According to Augusti, "Die dogmatischen Untersuchungen der sogenannten *neuern Theologie* begannen im Jahr, 1760." Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmengeschichtes, S. 162. (Edit. 1835.)

which is taught by the extravagances of the writers of a different school. It is not my business to point out the process by which the leading divines of the Lutheran communities passed into a state but little differing from actual infidelity. The subject has even among ourselves already undergone discussion. It is too extensive and too important to be noticed in a few passing allusions. And it will in every point of view be more satisfactory for me to abstain entirely from speculation, and to confine myself to acknowledged facts. Whatever views we may have been led to entertain with respect to the origin of the state of things to which I now refer, it cannot be denied that JOHANN SALOMO SEMLER, the most conspicuous leader in the revolution effected in theology¹, exercised an influence not less remarkable on the cultivation of Church-history. Some of the most striking peculiarities which have since distinguished all classes of the historical writers of Germany, may be traced to the example of this extraordinary man. For though he was in some sense the type of his generation, his marked individuality greatly contributed to modify the course pursued in a great intellectual movement. His character is a phenomenon of no small interest in the history of the human mind. With a scepticism which doubted the plainest facts, he combined a

¹ Rev. Hugh James Rose on the State of the Protestant Religion in Germany, p. 45 et seq.

credulity which could believe the most improbable conjectures; and to an overwhelming passion for theory, he united a taste for investigation which enabled him to acquire the most extensive learning. His acuteness was checked by no sense of reverence for the subject on which it was exercised. His devotional feelings found satisfaction in an original kind of mysticism, and his speculations even on matters which better regulated minds deem sacred, were marked by bold profaneness as well as outrageous extravagance. "He set out," says Dr. Stäudlin¹, "upon the supposition that we have received Ecclesiastical history from the hands of the potentates of the Church; that they have regulated and disfigured it in accordance with their own views and prejudices, and that it must consequently be entirely reconstructed. But this often brought him to merely bold and groundless hypotheses. Generally speaking he destroyed more than he built up or set the example of improving. As the morals of the first Christians were represented as exceedingly pure, Semler described them as worthless people; and without any sufficient grounds declared the younger Pliny's letter to the emperor Trajan, which bears testimony to the purity of their morals, to be spurious. For what was beautiful and venerable in the character, and manner of life, and religious

¹ Geschichte und Literatur der Kirchengeschichte, S. 167, 168.

institutions of these Christians, he had no feeling. He well knew that religion, mental cultivation, and the system of instruction, cannot always and everywhere be uniform; but he knew not how duly to estimate their different forms, nor to interpret, and refer them to religious ideas and feelings." His style was confused and barbarous, and his works were composed without regard to art or method. His penetration and learning enabled him sometimes happily to estimate the value of the sources; but he was destitute of almost all the qualities which are required in the historian—especially the Ecclesiastical historian. But his doubts and his conjectures were alike calculated to gratify a people thirsting for novelty. The effect of his writings¹ was wonderful. Nearly all his countrymen who wrote on Church-history after he had begun his career of authorship, were more or less affected by his speculations; and he lived to see his principles carried to their furthest extent by some of the most able and popular writers of Germany.

Contemporary, however, with Semler was JOHANN

¹ *Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Selecta Capita*. Halæ, 1767-9. 3 vols, 8vo. *Commentarii Historici de Antiquo Christianor. Statu*, Hal. 1771-2. 2 vols. *Versuch eines fruchtbaren Auszugs de Kirchengeschichte*, 3 Bde. Halle, 1773-8. *Versuch christlichen Jahrbücher*. Halle, 1783, 2 Bde. *Neue Versuche, die Kirchenhistorie der ersten Jahrhunderte aufzuklären*. Leipzig, 1783.

MATTHIAS SCHRÖCKH, who published in 1768 the first volume of the extensive undertaking¹ which he completed only by the uninterrupted labour of forty years;—and who must not be classed among the Rationalists. A pupil of Mosheim, he brought to the cultivation of Ecclesiastical history much of the taste and learning of that distinguished historian. When he began his “Christian Church-history,” he merely intended to compose a popular work for the use of the educated classes of society. He altogether omitted references, and made it the principal object of his attention to write in a pleasing and attractive style. But as he proceeded, his plan was greatly altered. His own acquaintance with his subject gradually became more extensive; he soon ventured to discuss questions which could only interest men of learning; and at length freely entered into the most difficult points of Ecclesiastical investigation. His work exhibits the inequalities and defects which we might expect as the

¹ *Christliche Kirchengeschichte von Johann Matthias Schröckh, ordentlichem Lehrer der Dichtkunst auf der Universität Wittenburg. Leipzig, 1768—1803.* The work was carried on with this title as far as the Reformation, in thirty-five volumes 8vo. And it was immediately followed up by the modern history of the Church in another, differing only in the title (*Christliche Kirchengeschichte seit der Reformation, Leipzig, 1804—1808*), in eight volumes more. The whole work was completed by the publication of two volumes of a continuation by Tzschirner in 1810—12.

consequence of the circumstances under which it was written. But the writer was a moderate and candid man, who generally derived his information immediately from the sources, and was always acquainted with the most valuable labours of his predecessors. His views are generally sound and natural; and though he has too hastily adopted many new opinions, and often expressed himself with too little circumspection on serious subjects,—though he was not alive to the danger of latitudinarian sentiments, and had not altogether escaped the contagion of error,—he produced a valuable and useful work. He has generally placed the different parts of his subject in striking and intelligible points of view, and has distributed it judiciously and clearly. Though he was not the first of the more modern writers who discarded the division of Church-history into centuries, he was the first whose example in doing so was generally followed. It would be unfair to compare the different parts of his work¹ with those of writers who have concentrated their attention upon particular subjects or periods; but it has strong claims to be regarded as the best which has ever been written, on so large a scale, upon the general history of the Church.

For half a century after the time of Semler, no new work appeared on Church-history which was not composed upon the principles of the Rationalists.

¹ Appendix, Note CCC.

According to the theory of these ingenious speculators, Christianity was no longer to be regarded as a revelation from Heaven, except in so far as it might be traced to the interposition of Providence in disposing the circumstances connected with its origin and progress. The facts relating to its introduction were involved in impenetrable obscurity; for the records which professed to exhibit its primitive history, important as they were on other accounts, were of a character too uncertain and mythic to satisfy the curiosity of the philosophical inquirer. From its very introduction it had been grievously misapprehended. Superstition and imposture had represented it as mysterious and supernatural. What was really divine in it, its pure morality, had been buried under a system of dogmas, borrowed from the Oriental and Greek philosophers. An enlightened age should possess the Gospel as it came from the mind of its Founder, before it was adulterated by his ignorant and crafty followers; and it was the high vocation of the Ecclesiastical historian to co-operate with the philologist and the philosophical theologian, in attempting to disengage the more precious materials from the worthless and noxious elements with which it had been so long combined.

The popular work of SPITTLER¹ was constructed

¹ Grundriss der Geschichte der christlichen Kirchen. • Göttingen, 1782. 8vo. A fifth edition was published in 1811.

on the theory of this school ; but the first Church-history avowedly written on such principles, which displayed research and learning, was that of HEINRICH PHILIPP KONRAD HENKE¹, of Helmstadt. It appeared in six volumes between 1788 and 1802, and was a bold and systematic attempt to subdue a new province to the absolute jurisdiction of the Rationalists. "Wherever he found not his naturalism," says Stäudlin², "he saw corruptions of Christianity ; he employed invective and ridicule, instead of explaining and estimating ; changed the whole almost entirely into a series of highly-coloured pictures of superstition, fanaticism, stupidity, and wickedness, and misunderstood the beneficent moral and religious effects of Christianity. He affirmed that its true sense and spirit was first generally recognized in the eighteenth century." But though exceedingly defective in historical arrangement and method, and exhibiting in the later volumes an altered plan, the work of Henke has firmly maintained its ground, and will probably long remain a favourite with the bolder neologists.

Of much the same principles and tendency, though written in a more amiable spirit, was the Manual of JOHANN ERNST CHRISTIAN SCHMIDT³,

¹ *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Kirchen, nach der Zeitfolge.* Braunschweig, 1788—1802. In six volumes 8vo, with a continuation in three more (1818—23) by Vater.

² *Geschichte und Literatur der Kirchengeschichte*, S. 178.

³ Both Henke and J. E. C. Schmidt are assigned by Dr.

of Giessen, which was published in six volumes between 1801 and 1820¹. This author was well acquainted with the sources, and wrote in a belief "that the diffusion of accurate views of Church-history had not hitherto kept pace with the diffusion of better exegetical and philosophical knowledge²." But the Christian could scarcely hope that the history of the Church would be successfully illustrated by one who considered it an undecided question, whether the Founder of our religion "died to give posterity an example of patience and constancy, to attest the firmness of his conviction, or entirely to correct the expectations of his disciples respecting the Messiah;" and who thought that "we should be the less inquisitive about it, inasmuch as distinguished men have internal motives and grounds of action, of which books say nothing; and, moreover, men regarded nothing as holy which was not hallowed by sacrifice³."

But the very extravagance of the men who held

Bretschneider to the class of Rationalists properly so called, who "deny in Christianity any supernatural and miraculous agency of God, and make the scope of it to be the introduction, the establishment of, and the propagating in the world, the religion accessible to human reason." *Apology for the Modern Theology of Protestant Germany*, translated by Evanson, p. 62.

¹ *Handbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte*. Giessen, 1801—20. It has not been completed,—extending only to the year 1216.

² Schröckh, *Kirchengeschichte*, Th. xxxv. S. 219.

³ *Ibid.*

these miserable views naturally tended to produce a reaction. The Roman Catholics ¹, as they gradually availed themselves of the real improvements, were able to do something for the vindication of ancient truths. Protestant writers who were themselves unsound in their opinions on many important subjects, were dissatisfied with opinions so unreasonable and so heartless; and the works written on Church-history by such men as MARHEINECKE ² and STÄUDLIN ³, served to form a transition to better and sounder views. Professed Rationalists learned to write with greater caution and moderation; and

¹ The Roman Catholics of Germany first applied themselves to this branch of knowledge towards the end of the eighteenth century. The names of Stöger, Royko, and Dannenmayer, are mentioned with respect by Schröckh (*Kirchengeschichte*, xxxv. 221, 222), and Stäudlin (*Geschichte und Literatur der Kirchengeschichte*, 224, 225). But their efforts appear scarcely to have extended beyond the attempt to introduce the more valuable discoveries of the Protestant writers to their co-religionists. Several works of higher pretensions have indeed appeared among them somewhat more recently. Dr. J. J. Ritter, a learned and moderate writer of this communion, enumerates (*Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Bonn, 1836. Bd. i. S. 20, 21) no fewer than nine works on Church-history, besides his own, written by German Roman Catholics within the present century. But few of them have secured a reputation in any degree equal to that obtained by the bolder and more brilliant efforts of the Lutherans.

² *Universalkirchen-historie des Christenthums*. Erlangen, 1806. It extends only to the beginning of the seventh century.

³ *Universalgeschichte der christlichen Kirche*. Hannover, 1806.

men of learning again arose who were not ashamed of the cross of Christ.

I speak with reluctance of the labours of living writers, yet the nature of the task which I have undertaken forbids me to be silent. Among the works on Church-history which have appeared in our own time, the first place is undoubtedly due to that of DR. NEANDER¹. The Christian is thankful to find a person so justly eminent as this distinguished writer, acknowledging the Divine authority of the Gospel. But he is not free from that spirit of speculation which has become so characteristic of his countrymen: and his notions respecting the original constitution of the Church, and some other points of not inferior interest, render some of the most elaborate parts of his history highly unsatisfactory to Anglican readers. The other recent works of German writers are on a much less extensive scale. But DR. DANZ², and especially DR. GIESELER³,

¹ Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche. Von Dr. August Neander. Hamburg, 1825—36. The four volumes (in eight parts), which have hitherto appeared, bring down the history to the year 1073. The three parts which compose the first volume, have been ably translated into English by the Rev. Henry John Rose, 2 vols. 8vo. London: Rivingtons, 1831.

² Lehrbuch der christlichen Kirchengeschichte. Jena, 1818-26. In two volumes 8vo.

³ Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Bonn, 1831—35. In two volumes, the last extending to four parts. The first volume of my copy is of the third edition. It first appeared in 1824.

have enriched their text-books with copious extracts from the sources. And the excellent Dr. GUERIKE¹ has written a very able manual, in which it is a real pleasure to meet with sound and scriptural views of doctrine, as well as extensive and solid learning. The number of works on this subject which have appeared in Germany within the last few years, sufficiently prove the interest with which it is regarded. Monographies (if I may be allowed to naturalize an useful word,) or treatises on particular branches, have been still more abundant than works on the general history of the Church. Though much of what has been done, has been done in a spirit little calculated to promote the cause of truth, we cannot but rejoice at the degree of attention which has been paid to these studies: for, let the German scholars once honestly engage in the cultivation of Church-history, and they will inevitably return to orthodox views of Christianity.

We may fairly employ, with respect to ourselves,

The plan of the work is admirable, and it is exceedingly well executed. Though the author is a Rationalist, he seems more desirous to suppress than to obtrude offensive peculiarities. It has been translated in America, where Rationalism is treated with more gentleness than it is in this country. But the translator, Mr. Cunningham, cannot be congratulated on having made a successful version.

¹ Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte von D. H. C. Ferd. Guerike. Halle, 1836. This is the second edition. The first appeared, I believe, in 1833. It is in the very best style of German learning.

the language of congratulation. Though we are still destitute of any original work which deserves the name of a general history of the Church, we have, within the last few years been presented with several valuable contributions. Bishop KAYE¹, the late Professor BURTON², Mr. MAITLAND³, and Mr. NEWMAN⁴, have already taken their place among the historians of the Church; and we trace from day to day more decided indications of an increasing taste for Ecclesiastical information.

In taking leave of this part of my subject, I may be allowed to make a few general observations. It must, I think, be confessed that Church-history is still very far from a state of perfection. Though it has been so often handled, very few have, hitherto,

¹ The Ecclesiastical History of the second and third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian. Cambridge, 1825. Some account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr. Cambridge, 1829. Some account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of Alexandria. London, 1835.

² Lectures upon the Ecclesiastical History of the first three Centuries, from the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ to the year 313. Oxford, 1833, 2 vols. 8vo.

³ Facts and Documents illustrative of the History, Doctrine, and Rites of the ancient Albigenses and Waldenses. London, 1832. The papers on the *Dark Ages*, which have appeared during the last three years in the British Magazine.

⁴ The Arians of the Fourth Century, their Doctrine, Temper, and Conduct, chiefly as exhibited in the Councils of the Church, between A.D. 325, and A.D. 381. London, 1833.

treated it as it deserves. Of the better class of writers, some have confined themselves to bare facts, and have, undoubtedly, done much in the way of accumulating information and discovering separate truths ; others have investigated the causes of the phenomena which they had to notice, and have traced the connection of the various events with one another. But in this highest class of historians we find scarcely a single writer whom we can peruse with satisfaction. Many of them have written in support of erroneous views ; few of them have written in a religious spirit. They have generally treated the subject as a bare point of human knowledge. They have had no regard to the history of piety. They have not considered, nor pointed out, the relation in which revealed truth has stood to the various conditions of society. They have not concerned themselves to trace the perpetuity and uniformity of the grand peculiarities of the Gospel. At most they have been content to point out the care of Providence in maintaining the existence of the Church, without calling attention to the exertion of superhuman agency in preserving the different parts of the Christian system. The Romish writers could not, upon their principles, do otherwise than seek every where for Romanism, and shape every fact which they could discover, in a particular form. The writers of other communions have not, for the most part, been less exclusive. They have usually written with controversial views.

The piety which Rome admires, they deemed it right to ridicule; the practices which have since become mere superstitions, they have thought it necessary to denounce and expose. In a word, though the most important chapter of man's history is spread before us in the fortunes of the Church, it has scarcely ever yet been read as a great whole. The various parties have taken out their favourite portions, and ungratefully thrown the rest away. Would that the errors of past generations might teach us wisdom. If a sense of duty could lead us to lay aside our prejudices, and study Church-history in a teachable and quiet spirit, we should have a rich reward.

Sunt fruges ; sunt deducunt ramos
Pondere poma suo, tumidæque in vitibus uvæ ;
Sunt herbæ dulces ; sunt quæ mitescere flamma,
Molliri queant. Nec vobis lacteus humor
Eripitur, nec mella thymi redolentia florem.
Prodiga divitias alimenta que mitia tellus
Suggerit, atque *epulas sine cæde et sanguine* præbet.

The experience of so many ages may suffice to teach us the only way in which we can expect to reap the fruits of Church-history. The industry of three centuries has discovered the facts; the progress of civilization and literature has brought to light the principles. But where is the Christian philosopher, who free from the miserable bondage of party, and enlightened not only by human

science but the grace of God, shall put his sickle into the harvest, and supply the Lord's family, not with stones, but bread? That Ecclesiastical history may at length be cultivated on right principles and in a right spirit, is an object which well deserves our prayers.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE SOURCES OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY OF THE SOURCES OF CHURCH-HISTORY—PRIVATE SOURCES, OR TESTIMONY—PUBLIC SOURCES, FURNISHED BY DOCUMENTS AND MONUMENTS.

VALUABLE as are the labours of the modern writer of Ecclesiastical history, and important as it is that we should be provided with learned and able guides in our inquiries into the past condition and fortunes of the Church, the intelligent student will not trust himself exclusively to their direction, but will be ever anxious to pursue his researches to the ultimate sources of information. The judicious scholar who undertakes the business of the historian, though he may have no facts to communicate which are not accessible to all,—by merely collecting and arranging the materials of our knowledge of other times, and placing them in the light best calculated to convey instruction, renders the world no common service. If he is duly qualified for the work he has taken in hand, he will be so well acquainted with the subject he attempts to illustrate, so well aware

of the nature of his materials, so well versed in the various kinds of learning which bear upon the object of his inquiry, that even his private opinions upon the points connected with it must have their value; and upon most matters to which his attention has been directed, his judgment must have more weight than that of the ordinary scholar. But the most accomplished historians are but men. They have their literary and moral infirmities. In his attempts to elucidate Church-history, one will be deficient in philological learning; another will be wanting in sound judgment. In one instance we have to complain of inelegance, or confusion, or want of harmony; in another we have to regret credulity, or prejudice, or excessive scepticism. Here we are pained by the absence of religious feeling; there we are offended by fanaticism and superstition. But whatever weakness may predominate, even though no fault be prominent, the truth as it passes through the mind of an individual writer, inevitably takes a certain colouring. The various facts are qualified, in some degree or other, by the process to which they are submitted in the mental elaboration. In the case of prejudiced and violent writers, they almost lose their very character. They are more or less affected as they pass through the minds of the most honest and candid. When we reflect on this, and remember, moreover, that too many have written upon false principles, and even to vindicate error, we must feel that if we value

truth, we must seek it, if we have the opportunity, where it is to be found uncorrupted, and gratify our thirst for knowledge by drinking at the fountain.

But the number of those who derive their knowledge of history immediately from the sources, can never be extensive. Such researches require a disposition, an education, and opportunities, that cannot be general. It may be enough for the cause of learning, for those who write and teach, to pursue a course of original study, and for the public to exact such a course with unrelenting severity in all who venture to minister to its instruction. But more feel interested, or should feel interested, to know what are the sources of history, than those who can use them. All who entertain an intelligent curiosity respecting Church-history must desire to know the materials out of which it is constructed. It is therefore but proper to follow up the account which has been given in the preceding pages of the progress of Church-history, by such a notice of the sources, as may be sufficient to furnish, at all events, a general notion whence we derive the most direct and credible information respecting the history of the Church.

The sources of Church-history are either private or public.

I. The PRIVATE Sources are those which are supplied by the *Testimony* of individuals, whether historians, biographers, or other writers.

II. The PUBLIC Sources are *Documents* and *Monuments*; the former including Civil laws, Instruments, Ecclesiastical laws of every kind, Creeds, Liturgies, Acts of councils, Rules of religious orders, and all pieces of an official nature; the latter, Buildings, Medals, Inscriptions, Vestments, Images, and all other works of art.

Before I proceed further, it may be well to make a few remarks on the qualifications which are required in the student of the original materials of Church-history. It is evident that he must possess considerable antiquarian¹ and philological² knowledge, and that he should be acquainted with

¹ The ecclesiastical antiquities have been illustrated by our learned countrymen, *Cave* (Primitive Christianity) and *Bingham* (Christian Antiquities). The most recent work on a large scale is that of *J. C. W. Augusti* (Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christlichen Archäologie, Leipzig, 1817—31, in 12 vols. 8vo.) The unfinished work of Mamachius (Originum et Antiquitatum Christianarum libri xx. Romæ, 1749—55), of which six books, in five volumes 4to, only were published, represents the opinions of the Ultramontane Romanists. *Selvaggi*, *Pelicia*, and *Binterim*, all Roman Catholics, have also written on the Christian antiquities.

² The most important works of ecclesiastical philology are *Suiceri* Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus e Patribus Græcis, Amstel. 1682; ib. 1728; and *Ducange's* Glossaries, viz. Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Græcitatatis, Lugd. 1688, in two volumes folio; and Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, Lutet. Paris, 1678, in three volumes folio; enlarged in a third edition to six volumes by the Benedictines in 1733—36, and continued in four more by Carpentier in 1766.

general history¹, both political and literary, chronology², geography³, and (if he would carry his researches to the manuscripts) diplomatic⁴. He should be in a condition constantly to employ a sound and judicious criticism; he should not be ignorant of science or of art. His imagination should be sufficiently vigorous to transport him to other lands and other times; and his mind should be superior to vulgar prejudices. But above all, he must be under the influence of religious principle; for no one but the spiritual man can appreciate and understand the various manifestations of religious

¹ The works on civil history are so numerous that it is not easy to make a selection. Of those in our own language, the most useful to the ecclesiastical student are *Gibbon's* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and *Hallam's* *History of the Middle Ages*.

² I am not aware that there is any scientific work expressly written on Ecclesiastical chronology. But the great work of the Benedictines (*l'Art de vérifier les Dates*) extends to the whole subject. The latest work is *Ideler's* *Handbuch der Mathematischen und technischen Chronologie aus den Quellen bearbeitet*, Berl. 1825—26, in two volumes 8vo.

³ A. Miræj *Notitia Episcopatum Orbis Christiani*. Antv. 1613. Caroli a S. Paulo *Geographia Sacra*, edit. J. Cleric. Amstel. 1703. The ninth book of *Bingham*.

⁴ Mabillon *de re Diplomatica*, Paris, 1681; 1709. *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique* par deux Religieux Bénédictins, Paris, 1750—65, 6 vols. 4to. The latest work on the subject which I find mentioned, is Schönemann's *vollständiges System der allgemeinen Diplomatik*, Hamburg, 1801, 2. Bde. 8.

feeling¹, and trace and estimate God's dealings with his Church. The accomplished inquirer must possess all these qualifications; but persons of very inferior parts and acquirements, may, by the mere exercise of a conscientious industry, render important service to the cause of truth, and obtain a highly satisfactory acquaintance with Church-history.

I. The private sources of Ecclesiastical history are, as I have already observed, supplied by the *Testimony* of individual writers.

1. In our inquiries respecting the events of past times, the guides to whom we most naturally turn for information, are the writers whose works were expressly composed to communicate to posterity the knowledge which we are seeking to obtain,—I mean the *historians*². It may well be thought

¹ Das Interesse für Eine kirkliche Parthey, wie die Befangenheit in der Art und Weise seiner Zeit, muss der kirchenhistorische Forscher ablegen: dagegen kann er ohne christlich-religiösen Geist nicht in den innern Character der Erscheinungen der Kirchengeschichte eindringen, weil man überhaupt keine fremde geistige Erscheinung historisch richtig auffassen kann, ohne sie in sich zu reproduciren. Nur solche Forschung kann entdecken, wo der christliche Geist ganz fehlt, wo er blos als Larve gebraucht wird, und welcher ein anderer Geist an seine Stelle getreten ist: sie wird es aber auch nicht verkennen, wo er vorhanden ist, selbst wenn er sich in Erscheinungen ausspricht, die unserer Art und Weise fremd sind. Gieseler, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte. 1 Bd. S. 17.

² G. J. Vossius (de Historicis Græcis libri iv. ; de Historicis

that I have already said enough respecting this class of writers. But the word by which they are described, is in some degree equivocal. It is evident that it does not always bear the same meaning. I have hitherto used it in its most comprehensive sense, and designated by the name of Ecclesiastical historians all who have written on the history of the Church. But the writer who gives us the results of his own observation, and speaks from his own knowledge, or whose works were composed with some peculiar opportunities of obtaining information, is evidently a historian in a different sense to the one who draws up his narrative from the materials transmitted by his predecessors. Though they are described by the same name, their claims upon our attention are quite dissimilar. The latter may deserve our admiration as an artist and a scholar; but the former is an *authority*, and takes his place among the sources of history.

The original historians whose works deserve to be regarded as authorities, either wrote at the time to which their works refer, or at a period so little removed from the events which they record, as to be able to collect traditional notices which must be regarded as possessing historic value. When we

Latinis libri iii., in the fourth volume of his works, Amstel. 1699); Sagittarius (Introductio in Hist. Eccles. Jenæ, 1718); and Hamberger (Directorium Historicorum, Gottingæ, 1772); communicate much useful information respecting the historians.

can consult historians who themselves took part in the transactions which form the subject of their narrative, or were eye-witnesses of the facts which they relate, we may congratulate ourselves on possessing important testimony. But the personal character of the writers, and the circumstances in which they were placed, greatly affect the value of their evidence. Great as is the weight which is justly due to the statements of contemporary historians, we should remember that contemporaries and especially men engaged in public life, are likely to feel, in a peculiar degree, the influence of partiality and prejudice. And inferior as may at first sight appear the evidence of those who lived somewhat later than the transactions they describe, we ought not to forget that when the excitement necessarily produced by great events has passed away, men are often in a more favourable condition for estimating their real character. The judicious inquirer will not, therefore, allow himself to be imposed upon by the high claims of a contemporary, nor despise the more modest testimony of a later historian. He will gladly consult and carefully examine even those who lived at a considerable interval from the times of which they wrote, well knowing that in many instances they were able to avail themselves of information which placed them almost, or altogether in the position of original writers. It is not the Ecclesiastical historians merely whose testimony comes under this division

of the sources of Church-history. In our attempts to understand and illustrate the past condition and fortunes of the Church, the writers of civil history, even such as were not Christians, no less demand our attention. Incidental notices are sometimes of more importance than elaborate descriptions; and the evidence which is accidentally furnished by indifferent or hostile witnesses, is often more convincing than any thing which can be said by those who may be suspected of partiality.

But the rules which are generally employed in estimating this branch of historical testimony¹, apply in their full force to the notices transmitted by historians respecting the history of the Church. Their statements form an important class of authorities; and though not always so important as at first sight they may appear, deserve to be placed in a high rank among the sources of Church-history.

2. The *biographers* also form a very important class of witnesses. The relation in which biography stands to historical knowledge, is well known and estimated. It is an almost inexhaustible source of the history of the Church. From very early times, the friends and disciples of eminent Christians have often recorded the most interesting particulars of their story, for the instruction of posterity; and the lives of the Saints accordingly

¹ J. A. Ernesti de Fide Historica recte æstimanda, ap. Opuscula Philologica Critica, pp. 64—101. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1776. Griesbach. de Fide Historica, ap. Opuscula Academica, tom. i. pp. 167—223.

form a very extensive department of Ecclesiastical literature. From the brief notices afforded by Menologies¹ and Martyrologies², and the minute and copious information often communicated by admiring panegyrists, we are able to collect many valuable facts relating to the general history of the Church, as well as abundant materials for the illustration of the history of personal religion. Besides the works of Palladius, Severus Sulpicius, Theodoret, Joannes Moschus, and others already alluded to in an earlier part of this work, we possess immense stores of Ecclesiastical biography. The collections of Lipomanni³, Surius⁴, the Benedictines⁵, and the Bollandists⁶, are composed entirely of this class of

¹ An ample account of the Menæa, the Menologia, and the Synaxaria, is given by *Leo Allatius* (de Libris Ecclesiasticis Græcorum, pp. 57—70, ap. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vol. v.)

² A list of the martyrologies and calendars of the Latin church may be found in Fabricius, Bibl. Græc. vol. ix. pp. 35—40.

³ Aloysii Lipomanni Veronensis Episcopi, Vitæ Sanctorum. Romæ, 1551—1560, in eight volumes, 4to.

⁴ Laurentii Surii, Carthusiani, Vitæ Sanctorum Orientis atque Occidentis, ex variis auctoribus ac manuscriptis codicibus collectæ ac per anni seriem digestæ, Coloniae, 1569, in six volumes folio. Also Venet. 1581; Colon. 1581; and Colon. 1618.

⁵ Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti in Sæculorum class. distributa. Lutet. Paris. 1668, in nine volumes folio. I have transcribed the title at length, p. 143.

⁶ Acta Sanctorum, quotquot toto Orbe coluntur; vel a Catholicis Scriptoribus celebrantur.—The title has been given in page 142.

materials ; and there are many important pieces of a similar nature to be found elsewhere. But there is no department of our subject which requires, in the student, a greater degree of critical sagacity and skill. Many of the most ancient and valuable lives of the Saints have been largely interpolated ; many which claim a high antiquity, are in reality the production of much later times. Those which are undoubtedly genuine, do not always contain authentic information. They are generally written in a style of extravagant hyperbole, and often exhibit a much greater desire to magnify the object of their panegyric, than to record the simple truth. The judicious inquirer, therefore, employs them with caution. And while he reverently traces in them the operations of that Spirit who “ divides to every man severally as he will” he is constantly on his guard against the superstition and fanaticism of the writers, and endeavours carefully to separate fact from fable.

3. Nearly all the writers, who have written on theological and ecclesiastical subjects since the introduction of Christianity, have contributed to increase the sources of Church-history. Though they may not have written with any intention of communicating historical information, the works of the *Fathers*¹ generally reflect great light on the

¹ Abundant information respecting the works of the Fathers is furnished by the writers of the literary history of the Church. *Cave* (*Historia Literaria*), *Dupin* (*Nouvelle Bibliothèque des*

events and condition of the age in which they were composed. The writings of those of them especially who were themselves prominent objects of Church-history, form evidence of the most important kind, particularly when they are not of a strictly literary nature, but were occasioned by the passing circumstances of the time; the writings, for instance, of such men as St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, and St. Austin, which were produced for the most part to meet particular emergencies, actually form part of Ecclesiastical history, and illustrate the transactions in which the authors were concerned, better than the narratives of the most accurate contemporary historians. Some writers of a very inferior rank often afford important information on particular subjects; and even the works which have come down to us of the declared enemies of the Church, deserve the most careful investigation. But it requires sound judgment and extensive learning to use this class of testimony with advantage. We must receive with caution the evidence of controversial writers even of the highest reputation.

Auteurs Ecclésiastiques), *Oudin* (*Comment. de Scriptoribus Eccles.*), *Fabricius* (in his various *Bibliothecæ*), *Ceillier* (*Histoire des Auteurs Sacrés*), *Lumper* (*Historia Theol. Crit. SS.PP.*), *Rössler* (*Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*), and *Schönemann* (*Bibliotheca Hist. Lit. Patrum Latinorum*). *Walch* (*Bibl. Patristica*, edit. Danz.), indicates the best and latest editions; and *Ittigius* (*de Bibliothecis PP.*), points out the pieces which are contained in the collections published before 1707.

We must be cautious lest we draw too general conclusions from particular facts. The works of the Fathers have, as there is often reason to suspect, been mutilated and interpolated; and spurious pieces have frequently been ascribed to the most illustrious names. Their genuine writings are sometimes obscure, and rarely to be understood without attentive study. And great as is the importance of this branch of testimony, inasmuch as some of the most interesting and instructive points of Church-history (the progress of doctrine and opinion, for instance), are traced almost exclusively in the works of the Christian doctors, we must not assign it a disproportionate value, or allow the veneration which we ought to entertain for the worthies of the Church, to relax the caution with which we should pursue our enquiries.

II. The second class of the sources of Ecclesiastical history differs in its very nature from that which has been already noticed. The one consists of testimony, the other of actual facts. Both indeed are equally indispensable. Without the aid of private testimony, documents and monuments would often be unintelligible; and without these public sources of history, we should want what is sometimes absolutely necessary to confirm the information communicated by individual writers. In assigning a high rank to the class which we are now to review,

I do not intend to detract from the value which properly belongs to the one which I have already noticed. It must be confessed, however, that the testimony of individuals, who usually feel a deep interest of some kind or other in the transactions which they relate, is likely to be affected by the prejudices and passions of the witnesses: whereas, when we have before us a genuine document or monument, we have an undoubted fact. The information which it communicates may not perhaps be great, but, as far as it goes, it must be true. It places us, with respect to the subject to which it refers, in the situation of contemporaries. And thus these remains of antiquity not only appeal to our senses, and help us to form more correct conceptions of the state of things in past ages, but themselves afford the purest and most satisfactory¹ materials of history.

¹ Nescio, quomodo in iis, quæ privata auctoritate traduntur, animus semper aliquid amplius desideret, quod majorem credendi necessitatem afferat: propterea quod, quæ res voluntati humanæ relictæ sunt, in iis nihil esse omnino certi potest, cum ipsa nihil sit incertius, atque mobilius. Itaque, nisi res ipsa, aut alia quædam haud dubia signa accedant, quibus privata sustentetur fides, dubius animus relinquitur. Quod sequens est in iis, quæ publica auctoritate legentibus commendantur: in quibus, quia inest quædam conveniens istis rebus necessitas, animus nihil amplius requirit. J. A. Ernesti de fide Historica recte æstimanda, ap. Opuscula Philologica Critica, p. 68, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1776.

The Public sources of Church-history are naturally divided into Documents and Monuments—
i. e. official writings and works of art.

The former of these—namely, Documents—first demand our attention.

1. The relation in which the Church has stood to the State has led, from time to time, to the production of an important kind of information in the successive enactments of POLITICAL LEGISLATION. For three centuries the government of the Roman empire maintained a fierce conflict with the Gospel, and the edicts of the Cæsars rarely spoke to their Christian subjects any other language than that of threatening and denunciation. When Constantine submitted to the power of the Cross, and began the long succession of Christian princes, a different state of things arose, and we trace in the civil law¹ the public establishment of Christianity on the ruins of paganism. As the supremacy of Rome was overthrown, and new kingdoms arose in the Western world, the laws of the several states continue to illustrate Ecclesiastical history. And not merely the statutes of the Christian nations, but their customs and usages, throw light upon the condition and constitution of the Church. But the jealousy of rival professions, the interests of conflicting jurisdictions, and the opinions of contending sects, have introduced embarrassment and uncertainty into

¹ The Theodosian code, and the later portions of the civil law, exhibit in a compact form the legislation of the empire.

some of the most interesting subjects connected with this branch of Ecclesiastical antiquities; and candour and acuteness are not less requisite than legal and historical learning, for the successful study of this department of the sources of Church-history.

2. From a very early period we find the Church in possession of real property; and after the Divine authority of Christianity had been recognized by the State, princes, cities, and wealthy individuals vied with each other in the magnificence of their liberality towards the favoured members of the spiritual estate. The LEGAL INSTRUMENTS¹ which conveyed the munificence of founders and benefactors, and marked the conditions on which they extended their bounty, reflect much light on the external and internal history of the Church. The grants, statutes, charters, and documents of every kind, connected with endowments, deserve the attentive examination of the Ecclesiastical student. They illustrate in a very interesting manner the opinions and feelings prevalent in society on religious subjects, and often explain and communicate important facts. But they must be studied cautiously. Ambitious individuals, and selfish communities, have sometimes not scrupled to aggrandize themselves, or their elders, by the base acts of fabrication and corruption. The student of muniments

¹ Immense stores of documents of this kind have been published in various collections; such as those of D'Achery, Martene, Baluze, and Ludewig.

needs an extensive acquaintance with diplomatic, and a sagacious critical sense; and if he be not in a high degree unprejudiced and impartial, he will inevitably be the victim of credulity or scepticism.

3. The governors of the churches assembled in council, form the venerable senate of the Christian commonwealth; and the proceedings of the chief pastors of the Church, publicly convened for solemn deliberation, command the respectful attention of the historical student. I am not concerned with the authority of these assemblies in a theological point of view, nor called upon to express an opinion how far we are bound to acquiesce in their decisions. But it is at once evident that, historically regarded, the COUNCILS¹ are of the utmost importance. The

¹ The following will, I hope, be found a correct list of the editions of the Councils. The titles of most of them are given at full length by Walch, *Bibl. Theol.* iii. 824—838.

Merlin	Parisiis, 1524, 2 vols.
Crabbe	Coloniæ, 1538, 2 vols. ; 1551, 3 vols.
Surius	Coloniæ, 1567, 4 vols.
Collectio Veneta . . .	Venetiis, 1585, 5 vols.
Binius	{ Coloniz, 1606, 5 vols. ; 1618, 9 vols. ; Parisiis, 1636, 10 vols.
Collectio Romana . .	Romæ, 1608, 4 vols.
Collectio Regia . . .	Parisiis, 1644, 37 vols.
Labbe et Cossart . .	Parisiis, 1671, 18 vols.
Baluze (Nova Collectio)	Parisiis, 1688, 1 vol.
Hardouin	Parisiis, 1715, 12 vols.
Coleti	Venetiis, 1728-33, 24 vols.

Mansi

opinions expressed in the debates, of which an account has been handed down in their proceedings, the official papers connected with their convocation, the judgments which they pronounced respecting disputed articles of faith, and the canons which they enacted upon subjects of discipline and morals, stand in the very first rank of the materials of Church-history, and communicate the most valuable kind of information. The history of the councils is indeed the most important part of the public history of the Church. The study of its records claims the days and nights of the ecclesiastical inquirer, and will reward his diligence with the most interesting and satisfactory knowledge¹.

Mansi (Nova Collectio) Lucæ, 1748-52, 6 vols.

Mansi Florentiæ, 1759-98, 31 vols.

The collections of Catalani, Sirmond, Spelman, Wilkins, Hartzheim, and others, comprise only national and provincial councils.

¹ Quæcunque habendorum horum conciliorum vel occasio fuerit, vel causa, illud tamen certum et indubitatum est, tam grandem ab iis insignium eventuum factorumque numerum et copiam contineri, ut inde potissima et nobilissima ecclesiasticæ historiæ pars constituatur. Quid, quæso, aptius, quid accommodatius ad ipsam subinde explicandam prophanam historiam, quacum concilia sæpe sunt arctissimo veluti vinculo affinitatis conjuncta? Ex his habes quæcunque in Ecclesia contigerunt, non solum dum haberentur, sed etiam ante, et post habita concilia: ex his percipis statum et naturam tum Orientalis, tum Occidentalis Ecclesiæ: ex his cognoscis Imperatores, qui ibi regnarunt, eorumque successionem; summorum Pontificum seriem, et cujusque pontificatus, tempus et durationem; Epis-

4. Besides the canons of general and provincial councils, the Church has admitted other pieces into the body of her legislation, and the canonical letters of popes, patriarchs, and other distinguished prelates, form part of the ECCLESIASTICAL LAW. The enactments and judgments of the potentates of the Church, are equally interesting to those who do, and to those who do not recognise their authority; and in his inquiries into the history of the Church, the zealous Protestant will study the canon law¹, and the bulls of the later pontiffs, as carefully and assiduously as the most devoted Romanist. The decisions of a supreme judge on the most interesting cases submitted to his jurisdiction, may well be expected to afford important information. The official papers of the court of Rome illustrate the

copos, qui primi principes ecclesiarum cathedras occuparunt: controversias, quæ in quolibet cujusque regni imperiique angulo sunt exortæ; hæreses identidem invectas, hæreticorum absurda dogmata, eorumdem principiorum insolentiam et impietatem, obfirmatum in iis sustinendis sectatorum animum et audaciam, furorem et amentiam imperatorum gentilium; persecutiones, quas crudeliter excitarunt; contraria partium studia, quæ Jesu Christi sponsam discerpserunt; insignes demum singularesque victorias, quas ab hostibus suis tum reportavit, cum jam eorum potentia et viribus quasi victa atque oppressa esse videbatur. F. Salmon de Studio Conciliorum, pars 1. cap. 2. art. 4. p. 20, of the Latin translation, Venetiis, 1764.

¹ *Corpus Juris Canonici*, edit. Boehmer. Halæ, 1747, 2 vols. 4to (for the earlier editions, see Fabr. Bibl. Græc. tom. xi. p. 91—94). *Bullarum amplissima collectio*, edit. Coquelines, Romæ, 1739, 28 vols. folio.

progress of the papal usurpation, and exhibit its vigour and decay. The constitutions of inferior prelates which have received the sanction of national or particular churches, deserve attentive examination; and indeed all the pieces, whether of a judicial or legislative nature, which propound the principles and practice of Ecclesiastical law, rank among the most valuable materials of Church-history.

5. During the long period which extends from the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the sixteenth century, the monks occupy a prominent position in the history of the Christian states, and demand a large share of the attention of the Ecclesiastical student. Though they were soon recognised as legitimate members of the spiritual body, and gradually took their place among the hierarchy, they ever remained distinct in many important particulars from the secular clergy; and their history and condition can be rightly understood only by a careful study of their peculiar institutions. The RULES¹ of the religious orders communicate indispensable information on the subject of monachism, and accordingly take their place among the sources of Ecclesiastical history.

6. The perpetuity of the faith is the most interesting subject presented by Church-history to the

¹ L. Holstenii Codex Regularum Monasticarum, Romæ, 1661, 3 vols. 4to. Auctus a M. Brockie. August. Vindel. 1759, 6 vols. folio.

Christian student, and he gratefully avails himself of all the evidence which tends to establish the Saviour's promise, that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against" the Church. In the CREEDS and confessions which have in different ages and in different lands and languages, set forth "the faith once delivered to the saints," he traces the uniformity of Christian doctrine, and learns to bless the goodness and power of Him who, in spite of man's corruption and Satan's malice, has ever preserved inviolate the fundamentals of the Gospel. From the confessions of heretical and schismatical bodies, and the anathematisms in which the Church has expressed her sense of their errors, we also derive much valuable information. Symbolical literature is in its very nature historical, and forms one of the most important sources of Church-history.

7. The history of Christian worship is perhaps only inferior to that of Christian doctrine, and on this point we gain the most extensive information from the ancient LITURGIES. That some of these

¹ C. G. F. Walchii Bibliotheca Symbolica Vetus ex Monumentis quinque priorum Sæculorum collecta et illustrata. Lemgoviae, 1770, 8vo. Bingham's Antiquities, book x.

² J. S. Assemani, Codex Liturgicus Eccles. Universæ, Romæ, 1749—66, 13 vols. 4to. Goar, Euchologium Græcum, Parisiis, 1647, fol. Renaudot, Liturgiæ Orientales, Parisiis, 1716, 2 vols. 4to. Muratorii Liturgia Romana vetus, Venet. 1748, 2 vols. fol. Martene de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus, Rothomagi, 1700,

interesting pieces, which come down to us inscribed with the venerable names of Apostles and Fathers, are substantially the same as were used by the primitive Christians, can scarcely be doubted; and the learning, sagacity, and diligence which some able ecclesiastical critics have brought to the study of liturgical literature, have enabled them to detect with wonderful accuracy the later alterations and interpolations. It is not only the public worship of the Christian communities which is illustrated by these interesting remains; the doctrine and polity of the Church, and every thing relating to ecclesiastical observances, may be studied in these sources; and the melancholy history of the progress of error and superstition, may be satisfactorily traced in the ancient and modern rituals.

8. Though I have now enumerated the various classes of documents which have the greatest claim to be regarded as possessing a public character, there are other pieces which, on account of their official nature, deserve to be mentioned here. We meet, for instance, with letters written by some bishops in the name of their churches, by others in the name of synods over which they presided, or on other similar occasions, which thus come to us invested with an authority which does not belong to the

2 vols. 4to. Antwerp. 1736; Venet. 1783, 4 vols. fol. Many other collections are important. Mr. Palmer has communicated much valuable information respecting the ancient liturgies in his *Origines Liturgicæ*. See also Bingham, b. xiii—xv.

productions of individuals. The works of the early apologists, again, were often composed in the name of the whole Christian body, or of the believers of a particular city or province. The writings composed under such circumstances, expressing as they do the sentiments of communities more or less extensive, have manifestly something of a public character, and deserve to be ranked among the public sources of Ecclesiastical history.

III. It was impossible for such a system as Christianity to operate on large bodies of men without producing visible and tangible proofs of its influence. Man in a civilized state has certain uniform means of giving expression to his inward emotions. His ideas of magnificence and beauty find utterance not only in poetry, but in art. His religious feelings have always been ready to contract a close alliance with the powers of his imagination, and to express themselves in the forms prescribed by the prevailing taste. Not poetry only, but architecture, painting, and the domestic arts, have been pressed into the service of the spiritual sense. Hence it is, that Monuments rank among the sources of the history of religion. In some instances they furnish us with all we know. Time, which has swept away the scanty literature of early nations, has found it harder to deal with metals and marbles. And even when literary materials are abundant, we cannot

but regard them as supplying information of peculiar value.

A connection between religion and art of the most intimate nature long prevailed in the Church. For many ages Christianity was, as it were, written upon every thing which was brought into existence by human labour among all who made profession of the Gospel. We trace its progress and influence scarcely more plainly in literature, than we do in the remains which we possess of æsthetical and even mechanical industry. And the buildings, images, pictures, medals, inscriptions, vestments, and vessels of the ancient Christian nations, furnish an important and productive source of Church-history.

1. ARCHITECTURE, the most noble of the arts, undoubtedly claims the first place in this part of our subject. The first temples in which the Saviour was worshipped, were humble as were his first worshippers. The secret chamber, and dens of the earth were the places of assembly chosen by the poor outcasts, whose only safety was in eluding the jealous observation of their persecutors¹. Yet the

¹ Celsus could say, *βωμονὲς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νεῶς ἰδρῦσθαι φεύγειν*, ap. Origen. contra Celsum, lib. viii. c. 17. tom. i. p. 754. Ed. Bened. ; and the heathen objector in Minucius Felix could inquire, *Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulachra?* Octav. ap. Bibl. PP. tom. ix. cap. 6. edit. 1644. But the word *ecclesia* appears to be applied to a building for religious worship by Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria.

natural feelings soon overcame every difficulty. Encouraged by intervals of tranquillity, and their increasing numbers, the despised followers of the cross learned to assume greater confidence, and some time before the Gospel had obtained legal toleration many capacious edifices ¹ had been erected for Christian worship. But these early temples were demolished in the last and most severe of the persecutions. They had probably few pretensions to architectural merit: and at all events must have been very inferior to the magnificent structures which rapidly arose in the principal cities, as soon as Christianity had become the religion of the empire. The first Christian emperors evinced the sincerity of their devotion, or endeavoured to conciliate the respect and affection of their subjects, by providing for the erection of sacred edifices; and the most distinguished prelates displayed all their energy in their attempts to incite the powerful and the wealthy to adorn and enrich the houses of God. The government permitted, and even encouraged, a practice which soon became common, of converting heathen temples into Christian churches; and in many instances public buildings, which had been used for civil purposes, were given up to be henceforth employed as places of Christian worship. The far greater part of these edifices have, of

¹ *Εὐρείας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας.* Euseb. lib. viii. cap. i.

course, long since fallen a prey to the disorders of succeeding times and the natural process of decay. Of the few that remain, none supply us with the full amount of instruction which we could wish them to contribute. They have been adapted by later generations to the changes which gradually obtained in the Church: and we can restore them to their original simplicity only by the aid of the descriptions of the churches of that period, which we find in the works of contemporary writers. With this help, however, they afford much assistance to the Ecclesiastical historian in his inquiries respecting the worship and discipline of the ancient Church.

The settlement of a new population in the western division of the Roman world, produced a state of things altogether different to that presented by the ancient system. The Gospel, indeed, eventually triumphed over the heathenism of the barbarian conquerors, and the rudeness of the first generations was soon succeeded by a rapidly increasing civilization; but the condition of society, which had lasted for so many ages, was dissolved. Nations in a different stage of the progress of cultivation had gained the ascendancy. Manners, intelligence, taste, were regulated by another standard, and followed other directions, and nature and feeling took the place of experience and formality. The Christian edifices which had adorned the provinces, had in many instances been swept away by the violence of

the torrent. And when the victorious tribes embraced the religion of their subjects, their first churches naturally accorded with their habits and modes of life. But the frail structures which satisfied a rude people, were gradually supplanted by more substantial and aspiring works. Under the guidance of the clergy, whose pursuits and superior intelligence led them to look back to a state of greater refinement, which still partially lingered beyond the Alps, they learned to imitate the forms and spirit of Roman art. The semicircular arch resting upon massive columns, finely represented the dignity and severity of the ancient system, and the solemn spirit of the early Ecclesiastical architecture awed the public mind to submission and obedience. As the general intelligence increased, and greater activity prevailed in the western world, more imagination and variety were exhibited in the structures devoted to religious purposes. The pointed arch, and its kindred peculiarities, spread from Lombardy, or the East, over the whole of Christian Europe with a rapidity which denotes a general ability to appreciate the merits of liveliness and grace. The magnificence and exuberance of the succeeding period were not less universal. And before the end of the fifteenth century every province of western Christendom exhibited noble specimens of these monuments of religion and genius.

The revival of a classical taste in art, at the era

of the revival of letters, terminated the existence of the indigenous architecture of the west. Its proudest efforts were despised, its very principles were forgotten. For nearly three centuries the greatest achievements of Teutonic genius were ridiculed as childish toys, or regarded with stupid wonderment. It is within the last fifty years that they have become the object of rational curiosity, and been studied in a spirit of intelligent criticism. The ingenious investigations of two generations of antiquarians and artists, who have examined this interesting subject with a diligence and acuteness worthy of its importance, have led to the recovery of the main principles of Gothic art; and we have been enabled by a series of inquiries¹, conducted in the true spirit of science, to find in the remains of the architecture of the middle ages a fruitful source of Church-history. A very limited acquaintance with the discoveries to which I allude, will enable the student to perceive, at a glance, the period to which he should refer any Ecclesiastical or monumental structure. And a more intimate knowledge of this

¹ The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely, by the Rev. James Bentham, Cambridge, 1771; a Treatise on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of England, during the Middle Ages, by the Rev. John Milner, D.D.; Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, by J. Britton, 5 vols. 4to, London, 1807—14; an Attempt to discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the Reformation, by Thomas Rickman, London, 1817; an Historical Essay on Architecture, by Thomas Hope, Esq., 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1835.

branch of antiquities will often enable him to rescue important facts from the tenacious grasp of ignorance and fable.

2. The abhorrence with which the early Christians regarded the pagan idolatry, induced them to look with jealousy upon the labours of the sculptor¹. Though the courtly subjects of the first Christian emperors readily complied with the common mode of flattery, and peopled Rome and Constantinople with the statues of their sovereigns, the Church was slow in receiving these dangerous ornaments; and they were scarcely admitted into sacred edifices before the end of the sixth century. When they were once common, (and they were not common in the West till a much later period,) they multiplied with wonderful rapidity. They became objects not only of respect but of worship, and eventually formed one of the greatest scandals of the Church. But while we deplore the effects of IMAGES in confirming and extending superstition, we gladly avail ourselves of such as have escaped the ravages of time and violence, for the illustration of Ecclesiastical history. Many great events, many curious fables, and many important facts, connected with the opinions and customs which prevailed in the Church during the middle ages, are explained by these remains. And the antiquarian is sometimes ready to express, in language little edifying to the zealous iconoclast,

¹ Bingham, Book viii. c. 8.

the regard he feels for these monuments of the rude taste and misdirected piety of our ancestors.

3. But we are less indebted to the chisel than to the pencil. **PAINTING** can effect more than her more severe and dignified sister. She gives us not only single forms, but groups and colours, and transmits that which language could not communicate. There is no branch of history which derives more direct and abundant illustration from painting, than the history of the Church. The illuminations of manuscripts were chiefly the work of ecclesiastics, and, in the great majority of instances, adorn religious books. A great part of the ancient pictures which have come down to us, were designed as the ornaments of sacred edifices. Hence it is that the ceremonies of religious worship, the proceedings of Councils, the dresses and ornaments of the various orders of the hierarchy, and other matters of great interest to the Ecclesiastical student, are often happily explained by the remains of this branch of art.

4. The importance of **NUMISMATICS** in the critical study of history, is universally acknowledged. Many memorable events, and many interesting points of chronology and geography, would have remained unknown, had they not been brought to light by coins and medals. And no kind of history has derived more advantage from discoveries of this nature than the history of the Church.

5. The **INSCRIPTIONS** which celebrate the services

of eminent persons, record the names and titles of the dead, or perpetuate the memory of remarkable transactions, often communicate important information of a historical nature. The tombs especially of departed Christians¹, whether in the catacombs of the ancient cities, or the magnificent churches of the middle ages, often make us acquainted with facts which would otherwise have remained undiscovered, and exhibit inscriptions which take a high rank among the sources of Ecclesiastical history.

6. The VESTMENTS worn by the ministers of the sanctuary, and the VESSELS employed in the performance of the Divine service, throw much light on the history of Christian worship, and mark the progress of opinion on some of the most interesting subjects, respecting which we look for information to the history of the Church.

It is obvious, however, that monuments of every kind may serve to mislead rather than instruct us, if they are not studied with extreme caution. Un-

¹ *Roma Subterranea novissima in qua post Antonium Bosium Antesignanum, Jos. Severanum Congreg. Oratorii Presbyterum, et celebres alios Scriptores Antiqua Christianorum et præcipue Martyrum Coemeteria, Tituli, Monimenta, Epitaphia, Inscriptiones, ac nobiliora Sanctorum Sepulchra sex libris distincta illustrantur, et quamplurimæ res Ecclesiasticæ Iconibus graphice describuntur, ac multiplici tum sacra, tum profana eruditione declarantur. Opera et studio Pauli Aringhi Romani Congreg. ejusdem Presbyteri. Coloniz et veneunt Lutetiz Parisiorum, 1659.* The works of Ciampini, Jacutius, and others, are also important.

less we carefully ascertain the period to which they actually belong, and the uses in which they were employed, we shall inevitably fall into the snares which beset the path of the prejudiced and indolent student. If, on the contrary, we pursue our researches with diligence and care, we shall find this department of the sources of Ecclesiastical history rich in the purest instruction. Independently of the direct information which monuments communicate, they are of the greatest value in imparting substance and reality, so to speak, to historical knowledge. They link together the present and the past; they give correctness and precision to our views of antiquity, and powerfully assist the languid imagination in its efforts to hold communion with distant ages.

APPENDIX.

Note A. p. 12.

CONSTANTINUS AUGUSTUS, cum Cæsaream fuisset ingressus, et diceret memorato Antistiti (Eusebio), ut peteret aliqua beneficia Cæsariensi Ecclesiæ profutura, legitur, respondisse Eusebium; opibus suis Ecclesiam ditatam, nulla petendi beneficia necessitate compelli: sibi tamen desiderium immobile exstitisse, ut, quicquid in Republica Romana gestum sit erga Sanctos Dei per iudices iudicibus succedentes in universo orbe Romano, sollicita perscrutatione, monumenta publica discutiendo perquirerent; et qui Martyrum, a quo iudice, in qua provincia, vel civitate, qua die, quave perseverantia passionis suæ obtinuerint palmam, de ipsis archivis sublata ipsi Eusebio, Regio jussu dirigerent. Unde factum est, ut idoneus relator existens, et Ecclesiasticam Historiam retexeret, et omnium pene Martyrum provinciarum omnium Romanarum trophæa diligens historiographus declararet. S. Hieronymi Epist. ad Chromatium et Heliodorum. Opera, tom. xi. col. 474. Edit. Vallarsii, fol. Though this letter is now acknowledged not to have been written by Jerome, it is evidently very ancient.

Note B. p. 15.

Τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν Ἀποστόλων διαδοχὰς σὺν καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διηνυσμένους χρόνοις·

ὅσα τε καὶ πηλίκᾳ πραγματευθῆναι κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν λέγεται, καὶ ὅσοι ταύτης διαπρεπῶς ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα ἐπισημοτάταις παροικίαις ἡγήσαντό τε καὶ προέστησαν· ὅσοι τε κατὰ γενεὰν ἐκάστην ἀγράφως ἢ καὶ διὰ συγγραμμάτων τὸν θεῖον ἐπρέσβευσαν λόγον, τίνες τε καὶ ὅσοι καὶ ὀπηλίκᾳ νεωτεροποιίας ἡμέρῳ, πλάνης εἰς ἔσχατα ἐλάσαντες, ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως εἰσηγητὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀνακεκηρύχασιν, ἀφειδῶς οἷα λύκοι βαρεῖς τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνην ἐπεντρίβοντες προσέτι τούτοις καὶ τὰ παραντίκα, τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν ἐπιβουλῆς, τὸ πᾶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος περιελθόντα, ὅσα τε αὐτὰ καὶ ὅποια καθ' οἷους τε χρόνους πρὸς τῶν ἐθνῶν ὁ θεὸς πεπολέμηται λόγος, καὶ πηλικοὶ κατὰ καιροὺς τοὺς δι' αἵματος καὶ βασάνων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διεξῆλθον ἀγῶνας, τά τ' ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μαρτύρια, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἔλεω καὶ εὐμενῇ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀντίληψιν γραφῇ παραδοῦναι προηρημένος. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. i. p. 1, 2. Edit. Reading.

Note C. p. 16.

Kestuer (p. 20—25) contends that the Hist. Eccles. was not written before 332. He thus concludes his treatise: *Fides diplomatica Eusebii igitur, qualis in Historiæ Eccles. fontium usu fuerit, si in universum dijudicas, eum omnia, quæ Heynius (in comment. de Diodoro) a bono historico jure postulavit, scilicet: "ut in scriptoribus conquirendis diligentius versaretur, in dilectu eorum, quos sequeretur, et rerum, quos exponeret, judicium, consilium et fidem præstaret," et (quæ mox adduntur): "ut justo dilectu facto graviorum rerum nullam omitteret, ex autem quæ afferret, justo ordine disponderet et oratione simplici atque perspicua rerumque argumentis accommodata exponeret."* Eusebium igitur hæc et plura pro virili præstasse, non negare poteris. *Comment. de Euseb. p. 84.*

Note D. p. 17.

The opinions given by Du Pin, Le Clerc, and Schröckh, who represent three very different schools, will show the estimation in which Eusebius has been held by modern critics: Sans l'Histoire d'Eusèbe nous n'aurions presque aucune connoissance, non seulement de l'Histoire des premiers siècles de l'Eglise, mais même des Auteurs qui ont écrit en ce temps-là, ni de leurs Ouvrages, n'y aiant aucun autre Auteur que lui qui en ait écrit Il faut toutefois avouer que l'Histoire d'Eusèbe n'a pas toute la perfection qu'on pourroit souhaiter, qu'elle n'est pas écrite agréablement, qu'elle n'est pas toujours exacte, que souvent l'Auteur s'étend trop sur des choses qu'il devoit passer légèrement; et, au contraire, qu'il dit fort succinctement des choses qu'il devoit raconter plus amplement: mais ces défauts n'empêchent point qu'elle ne soit un Ouvrage très-estimable. Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques, tomé ii. p. 3, 4. On peut se plaindre d'Eusèbe, en ce qu'il y a mis diverses fables, comme celle d'Agbaré, &c. et qu'il a commis diverses fautes contre la Chronologie Mais on lui doit pardonner ces défauts, parcequ'il est le premier, qui ait fait quelque chose de complet touchant l'histoire Chrétienne; qu'il nous a conservé un grand nombre de fragments d'anciens Auteurs que nous avons perdus, et qu'il a rapporté leurs sentiments avec assez de fidélité. C'est lui encore principalement qui nous peut fournir quelques lumières, touchant le canon des livres du Nouveau Testament. Bibliothèque Universelle de l'Année 1688, p. 487. Es giebt zwar noch Lücken genug in seiner Erzählung; allein es ist billig, dass man dasjenige mit Dank annehme, was er geleistet hat. Man kann auch noch bey seiner Geschichte erinnern, dass verschiedene Nachrichten der-

selben einer schärfern Prüfung benöthigt sind, und manches Lob zu reichlich ausgeschüttet zu seyn scheint. Aber im Ganzen betrachtet, verdient er doch ein unpartheyischer und gemässigter Geschichtschreiber zu heissen: er unterlässt auch nicht die zweifelhaften Sagen von den gewissem Erzählungen oft zu unterscheiden. Kirchengeschichte, Th. i. S. 145. Edit. 1772.

Note E. p. 20.

Qui navali prælio dimicaturi sunt, ante in portu et in tranquillo mari flectunt gubernacula, remos trahunt, ferreas manus, et uncas præparant, dispositumque per tabulata militem, pendente gradu, et labente vestigio stare firmiter assuescunt, ut quod in simulacro pugnae didicerint, in vero certamine non pertimescant. Ita et ego qui diu tacui (silere quippe me fecit, cui meus sermo supplicium est) prius exerceri cupio in parvo opere, et veluti quamdam rubiginem linguæ abstergere, ut venire possim ad latiorē historiam. Scribere enim disposui (si tamen vitam Dominus dederit; et si vituperatores mei saltem fugientem me, et inclusum persequi desierint;) ab adventu Salvatoris usque ad nostram ætatem, id est, ab Apostolis, usque ad nostri temporis fecem, quomodo et per quos Christi Ecclesia nata sit, et adulta, persecutionibus creverit, martyriis coronata sit; et postquam ad Christianos principes venerit, potentia quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta sit. Verum hæc alias. Nunc quod imminet explicemus. Opera, tom. ii. col. 41. Edit. Vallarsii.

Note F. p. 21.

In the letter prefixed to the treatise, he thus explains its object: Hortaris, Dexter, ut Tranquillum sequens, Ecclesiasticos Scriptores in ordinem digeram, et quod ille

in enumerandis gentilium litterarum Viris fecit illustribus, id ego in nostris faciam, id est, ut a passione Christi usque ad decimum quartum Theodosii Imperatoris annum, omnes qui de Scripturis Sanctis memoriæ aliquid prodiderunt, ibi breviter exponam. Fecerunt quidem hoc idem apud Græcos Hermippus Peripateticus, Antigonus Carystius, Satyrus doctus vir, et longe omnium doctissimus Aristoxenus Musicus; apud Latinos autem Varro, Santra, Nepos, Hyginus, et ad cujus nos exemplum vis provocare, Tranquillus. Sed non est mea et illorum similis conditio: illi enim historias veteres annalesque replicantes potuerunt quasi de ingenti prato parvam opusculi sui coronam texere. Ego quid acturus sum, qui nullum prævium sequens, pessimum (ut dicitur) magistrum memetipsum habeo? Quamquam et Eusebius Pamphili, in decem Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ libris, maximo nobis adjumento fuerit, et singulorum, de quibus scripturi sumus, volumina ætates auctorum suorum sæpe testentur. Itaque Dominum Jesum Christum precor, ut quod Cicero tuus, qui in arce Romanæ eloquentiæ stetit, non est facere dedignatus in Bruto, Oratorum Latinæ linguæ texens catalogum, id ego in Ecclesiæ ejus Scriptoribus enumerandis digne cohortatione tua impleam. Ap. Miræi Bibl. Eccles. p. 1.

Note G. p. 21.

In historia isthac concinnanda, temporisque ratione digerenda credulum admodum fuisse Rufinum constat, in fabulas et incertos plebeculæ rumores nimis propensum, quos e trivio et tonstrina petitos literis mandare temere solebat. Unde Socrates cum ad ejus fidem primum et secundum Historiæ Eccles. libros formasset; meliores postea nactus auctores, libros istos ex integro ordiri necesse habuit, quemadmodum ipse (Præfat. ad l. 2.) nos docet.

Cave, Hist. Lit. Fabricius gives a similar opinion ; Bibl. Græc. vi. 59.

Note H. p. 23.

Orosius presbyter, Hispanus genere, vir eloquens et Historiarum cognitor, scripsit adversum querulos et infamatores Christiani nominis, qui dicunt defectum Romanæ Reipublicæ Christi doctrina invectum, libros septem ; in quibus pene totius mundi temporis calamitates et miserias, ac bellorum inquietudines replicans, ostendit magis Christianæ observationis esse, quod contra meritum suum res Romana adhuc duraret, et pace culturæ Dei pacatum retineret imperium. Sane in primo libro describit positionem orbis Oceani interfusione, et Tanais limitibus intercisam, situm locorum, nomina, numerum, moresque gentium, qualitates regionum, initia bellorum, et tyrannidis exordia finitimorum sanguine dedicata. Gennadius Massiliensis, de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, cap. 39.

Note I. p. 25.

Χριστιανικὴν ἱστορίαν συνέθηκεν, ἣν ἐν τριάκοντα ἑξ βιβλίοις διείλεν· ἕκαστον δὲ βιβλίον εἶχε τόμους πολλοὺς, ὥς τοὺς πάντας ἐγγὺς εἶναι χιλίους. ὑπόθεσις δὲ ἐκάστου τόμου ἰσάζει τῷ τόμῳ. τὴν μὲν οὖν πραγματείαν ταύτην, οὐκ Ἑκκλησιαστικὴν Ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ Χριστιανικὴν ἐπέγραψεν. πολλὰς δὲ συνεισφέρει ὕλας εἰς αὐτὴν, δεικνύναι βουλόμενος, μὴ ἀπείρως ἔχειν ἑαυτὸν τῶν φιλοσόφων παιδευμάτων· διὸ καὶ συνεχῶς Γεωμετρικῶν τε καὶ Ἀστρονομικῶν καὶ Ἀριθμητικῶν καὶ Μουσικῶν θεωρημάτων ποιεῖται μνήμην. ἐκφράσεις τε λέγων νήσων, καὶ ὀρέων, καὶ δένδρων, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν εὐτελῶν, δι' ὧν καὶ χαύνην τὴν πραγματείαν εἰργάσατο· διὸ καὶ, ὥς νομίζω, ἀχρεῖαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ εὐπαιδέυτοις πεποίηκεν. οἱ ἰδιῶται μὲν γὰρ τὸ

κεκομψευμένον τῆς φράσεως ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἰσχύουσιν· οἱ δὲ εὐπαίδευτοι, τῆς ταυτολογίας καταγινώσκουσιν. ἀλλ' ἕκαστος μὲν περὶ τῶν βιβλίων ὡς ἔχει γνώμης κρινέτω. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκείνῳ φημι, ὅτι τοὺς χρόνους τῆς ἱστορίας συγχέει. Socr. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 27. p. 376. Compare Nicephorus Callisti, Eccles. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 29. tom. ii. p. 501.

Note J. p. 29.

Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἐν ὄλοις δέκα βιβλίοις τὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκθέμενος, κατέπαυσεν εἰς τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Διοκλητιανοῦ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν γενόμενος διωγμὸς ἀπεπαύσατο. γράφων δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸν βίον Κωνσταντίνου, τῶν κατ' Ἀρείον μερικῶς μνήμην πεποιήται, τῶν ἐπαίνων τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τῆς πανηγυρικῆς ὑψηγορίας τῶν λόγων μᾶλλον, ὥς ἐν ἔγκωμῳ φροντίσας, ἢ περὶ τοῦ ἀκριβῶς περιλαβεῖν τὰ γενόμενα. ἡμεῖς δὲ προθέμενοι συγγράφαι τὰ ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι τῶν τῷδε περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας γενόμενα, τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀρχὴν, ἐξ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀπέλιπε, ποιησόμεθα· οὐ φράσεως ὄγκου φροντίζοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἡ ἐγγράφως εὐρομεν, ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἱστορησάντων ἠκούσαμεν διηγούμενοι. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. i. p. 5.

Note K. p. 29.

Ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν ἀδιαίρετος ἡ ἐκκλησία μεμενῆκει, καὶ αὐτὸς ἡσυχίαν ἂν ἤγον. ὅπου γὰρ ὑπόθεσις μὴ χορηγεῖ τὰ γινόμενα, περιττὸς ὁ λέγων ἐστίν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ πίστιν, ἢ διαλεκτικὴ καὶ κενὴ ἀπάτη συνέχεεν ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ διέσπειρεν, ᾗθην δεῖν γραφῇ ταῦτα παραδοῦναι, ὅπως ἂ μὴ ἀφανῇ γένηται τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας γενόμενα· ἡ γὰρ περὶ τούτων γνώσις, παρὰ μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ εὐκλειαν φέρει· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν ἐπιστάμενον

ἀσφαλέστερον ἀπεργάζεται· διδάσκει δὲ μὴ σαλεύεσθαι, κενοφωνίας τινὸς ἐμπεισούσης ἐκ λέξεων. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 18. p. 49. This is an important passage. The disorders of the Church are to Ecclesiastical, what wars and political commotions are to civil history. There is nothing to strike us in peace and public happiness. We think of our health only when we are under the influence of disease.

Note L. p. 30.

Ὁρμήθην δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ταύτην συγγράφαι τὴν πραγματείαν. λογισάμενος δὲ ὡς καὶ ἄλλοι ταύτης ἐπειράθησαν μέχρι τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς χρόνων, Κλήμης τε καὶ Ἡγήσιππος, ἄνδρες σοφώτατοι, τῇ τῶν Ἀποστόλων διαδοχῇ παρακολουθήσαντες, καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς ὁ συγγραφεὺς, καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ ἐπὶ κλην Παμφίλου, ἀνὴρ τῶν θείων γραφῶν καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων πολυμαθέστατος ἴστωρ· ὅσα μὲν τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντων ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις συνέβη μετὰ τὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνοδὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μέχρι τῆς Δικινίου καθαιρέσεως, ἐπιτεμόμενος ἐπραγματευσάμην ἐν βιβλίοις δύο. νῦν δὲ σὺν Θεῷ φάναι, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα διεξελθεῖν πειράσομαι. μεμνήσομαι δὲ πραγμάτων, οἷς παρέτυχον, καὶ παρὰ τῶν εἰδόντων ἢ θρασυμένων ἀκήκοα, κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν γενεάν· τῶν δὲ περαιτέρω, τὴν κατάληψιν ἐθήρσα ἀπὸ τῶν τεθέντων νόμων διὰ τὴν ἔρησκεϊαν, καὶ τῶν κατὰ καιρὸν συνόδων, καὶ νεωτερισμῶν, καὶ βασιλικῶν καὶ ἱερατικῶν ἐπιστολῶν· ὧν αἱ μὲν, εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σώζονται· αἱ δὲ, σποράδην παρὰ τοῖς φιλόλογοις φέρονται. τούτων δὲ τὰ ῥητὰ περιλαβεῖν τῇ γραφῇ πολλάκις ἐννοηθεῖς, ἄμεινον ἐδοκίμασα, διὰ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς πραγματείας, τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς διάνοιαν συντόμως ἀπαγγεῖλαι· πλὴν εἰ μήτι τῶν ἀμφοτέρων εὐρήσομεν, ἐφ' ὧν διάφορός ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξα.

τηνικαῦτα γὰρ εἰ εὐπορήσω τινὸς γραφῆς, παραθήσομαι ταύτην εἰς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς ἀληθείας. Sozom. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 1. p. 9, 10.

Note M. p. 32.

Οὐχ ὅσιον ψῆθην λαμπροτάτων ἔργων καὶ ὀνησιφόρων διηγημάτων τὸ κλέος παριδεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς λήθης συλῶμενον · διὰ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν συνήθων τινές, ἐπὶ τόνδε με τὸν πόνον πολλάκις παρώτρυναν. ἐγὼ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἑμαυτοῦ δυνάμει τόδε τὸ ἔργον σταθμώμενος, τὴν ἐγχείρησιν ὀρώωδῶ. θαρρῶν δὲ τῷ φιλοτίμῳ δοτῆρι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, μείζουσιν ἢ κατ' ἑμαυτὸν ἐγχείρω. Theodoret. Eccles. Hist. Præfat.

Note N. p. 34.

Jam supra a nobis monitum est, Socratem ac Sozomenum compluribus locis miro prorsus modo consentire. Cujus consensus quam exposuimus causam, quod scilicet ambo ex iisdem fontibus haurientes, atque omnia fere, quæ ibi memorata invenirent, bona fide accipientes eadem quoque tradiderint, id jam nobis probandum est. Sed utrumque ex iisdem fontibus hausisse, historiarum tenor satis declarat. Seorsum ambos illis fontibus usos esse probando rei cardo vertitur. Quippe Socratis et Sozomeni historias in singulas partes, e quibus ab auctoribus compositæ sunt, adductis comparatisque fontibus, quantum fieri poterat, disponentes, Sozomenum æque ac Socratem ex ipsis fontibus hausisse invenimus. Quæ in universum diximus, ea singulis exemplis illustremus. Quod Eusebius testimonium narrationis de cruce, quæ Constantino contra Maxentium proficiscenti in cœlo apparuerit, laudat, se scilicet illam rem ab ipso imperatore, jurejurando eam confirmante, accepisse, idem hoc laudat Sozomenus (lib. i. c. 3. cf. Euseb. Vit. Const. lib. i. c. 28). Socrates de illo

testimonio tacet. Quem vero Socrates ex Eusebio transcripsit locum (lib. i. c. 8. cf. Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. 7—9), is non legitur apud Sozomenum. Ex Athanasii porro epistola ad episcopos Ægypti et Libyæ locum Sozomenus habet, (lib. ii. c. 30. cf. Athanas. ed. Montf. tom. i. p. 289.) qui apud Socratem non occurrit, cum Socrates vice versa ex Athanasii Apologetico de fuga sua plura loca in suam historiam transtulerit (lib. ii. c. 28. cf. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 323. lib. iii. c. 18. cf. Athanasii Apolog. c. 8. seq.) quæ apud Sozomenum non reperiuntur. Quamquam plura ejusmodi exempla, si iis opus esset, proferri possent, prolata tamen sufficiant. Quod si igitur Sozomenus ex iisdem fontibus quam Socrates hausit, nil profecto restat, quod e Socrate furatus sit. Cui si addis et Socratem et Sozomenum Constantinopoli degentes eas potissimum res, quæ ad ecclesiam Constantinopolitanam attinerent, memoriæ prodendi habuisse consilium, et ambos res non tam ad materiæ similitudinem, quam ad chronologicam rationem disposuisse, idem fere utriusque rerum ordo ac frequentissimus consensus non adeo, ut de Sozomeno a furti crimine liberando desperes, te detinebunt. Holzhausen, p. 31, 32.

Note O. p. 43.

Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰωάννου Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία. ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου βασιλείας, ἀπ' αὐτῆς που τῆς Νεστορίου βλασφημίας καὶ καθαιρέσεως, καὶ κάτεισι μέχρι Ζήνωνος καὶ τῆς καθαιρέσεως Πέτρου τοῦ αἰρετικοῦ, ὃς τὸν Ἀντιοχικὸν ὑφῆρπασε θρόνον. ἔστι δὲ οὗτος τὴν φράσιν σαφὴς καὶ ἀνθρόος. διέρχεται δὲ τὴν τρίτην σύνοδον τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ λεπτομερῶς. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταύτην ἐν αὐτῇ συναγελασθείσαν, τὴν Δηστρικὴν λέγω· ἦν οὗτος θειάζει, καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἡγεμόνα Διόσκορον καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ.

διέξεισι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Καλχηδόνι σύνοδον, διασύρων ταύτην. ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶ συμβαλεῖν Ἰωάννην εἶναι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ βιβλίου τὸν πρεσβύτερον τὸν Αἰγεάτην, ὃς καὶ ἰδίως ὡς αἰρετικὸς κατὰ τῆς ἐν Καλχηδόνι συνόδου βιβλίον συνέταξε. τῆς μέντοιγε Ἱστορίας αὐτοῦ δέκα τυγχάνουσι τόμοι, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐπαγγέλλεται· ὧν ἡμῖν τοὺς πέντε γέγονεν ἀναγνῶναι, περιέχοντας (ὡς ἔφημεν) ἀπὸ τῆς Νεστορίου βλασφημίας μέχρι τῆς τοῦ αἰρετικοῦ Πέτρου καθαιρέσεως. Bibl. Cod. xli. p. 9. edit. Bekker. In another place he says of him that he was, δυσσεβῆς μὲν, καλλιπερία δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡδεῖ μετὰ τῆς σαφηνείας καὶ λαμπρότητος κεχρημένος. Cod. lv. p. 15.

Note P. p. 44.

Ἀνεγνώσθη Βασιλείου Κίλικος Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία. ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς τελευτῆς Συμπλίκιου τοῦ Ῥώμης· καὶ κάτεισι μέχρι τελευτῆς Ἀναστασίου, ὃς εἰκοσιεπτὰ ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς, ὡς οὗτός φησι, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διήρκεσεν· μέθ' ὃν Ἰουστίνον τὸν Θράκα ἀναρρήθῃναι γράφει βασιλέα. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν βιβλος αὕτη ἐνταῦθά που τὴν γραφὴν ἴστησιν, ἀπὸ Ζήνωνος μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς Ἀναστασίου καὶ τῆς Ἰουστίνου ἀναρρήσεως κατιούσα. λέγει δὲ οὗτος ὡς εἶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτεραι δύο πεπονημέναι βιβλοὶ, πρώτη καὶ τρίτη· ὧν τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχεσθαι, καταλήγειν δὲ ἕως Ζήνωνος, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡ δευτέρα ἐπεποίητο, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ποιῆσθαι προοίμιον τὸ τέλος τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστίνου ἀπάρχεσθαι. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ συγγραφεὺς οὐ λίαν τὴν φράσιν ἀπηκριβωμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνωμάλως ἔχων πρὸς ἑαυτόν. κέχρηται δὲ μάλιστα ταῖς παρ' ἀλλήλων τῶν ἐπισκόπων στελλομέναις ἐπιστολαῖς, εἰς πίστιν (ὡς φησιν) ὧν αὐτὸς γράφει· αἱ καὶ πολύστιχον ποιοῦσι τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἐν πλήθει λόγων ὀλίγην συναγαγεῖν ἱστορίαν· διὸ καὶ τὸ σαφὲς τῆς ἱστορίας τῷ πλήθει περι-

κόπτεται τῶν παρεντιθεμένων. Bibl. Cod. xlii. p. 9. Edit. Bekker.

Note Q. p. 46.

In the Proœmium of his work printed by Valesius, he thus explains his plan: Θεοφιλεῖς ὁμοῦ καὶ λογιώτατοι ἄνδρες, λέγω δὴ Θεοδώρητος ὁ τῆς ὁσίας μνήμης, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Κύρου, καὶ Σωζόμενος, καὶ Σωκράτης, τῶν ἐπιλοίπων χρόνων ποιούμενοι πραγματείαν, οὐκ ἄμφω τὸν ποιούτον ὁμιλον θέμενοι, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος φιλοσοφήσας, καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀναγράψας. ἐπεὶ οὖν τινὰ μὲν τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς πραχθέντων, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκολουθίας ὠθούμενοι ἐκάτεροι ἀπεδείχθησαν φράσαντες, τινὰ δὲ ἰδιάζοντες, εὐλογον ῥήθην, τὰ κοινῶς αὐτοῖς συμφωνούμενα διὰ τοῦ σαφέστερον καὶ εὐφραδέστερον διηγουμένου τῇ παρούσῃ βίβλῃ κατατάξαι, ἐν τῇ παρόψει παρασημαινόμενος ὡς ἄμφω συμπεφωνήκασι· τὰ δὲ ἐκάστῳ πάλιν ἰδίως ἐκτεθέντα παραδηλώσω.

Note R. p. 52.

The preface fully explains the nature of the work: Hæc historia Ecclesiastica, quæ cunctis Christianis valde necessaria comprobatur, a tribus Græcis auctoribus mirabiliter constat esse conscripta; uno scilicet Theodoreto, venerabili Episcopo, et duobus disertissimis viris, Sozomeno et Socrate; quos nos per Epiphanium Scholasticum Latino condentes eloquio, necessarium duximus eorum dicta deflorata in unius stili tractum, Domino juvante, perducere, et de tribus auctoribus unam facere dictionem. Sciendum plane, quod prædicti scriptores a temporibus divæ memoriæ Principis Constantini usque ad augustæ recordationis Theodosii junioris, quæ sunt gesta, digesserint. Nos autem eorum relictis operibus, et unumquemque cauta mente tractantes, cognovimus, non æqualiter omnes

de unaquaque re luculenter ac subtiliter explanasse: sed modo hunc, modo alterum aliam partem melius expediisse. Et ideo judicavimus de singulis doctoribus deflorata colligere, et cum auctoris sui nomine in ordinem collocare. Cassiodori Opera, tom. i. p. 203. Edit. Benedict. Roto-magi, 1679.

Note S. p. 54.

The præmium at once describes the nature of the work, and affords a specimen of the Latinity: Peregrinationis necessitatibus defatigatus, et aliquatenus feriatu animo a curis temporalibus, duarum hæreseon, hoc est, Nestorianorum et Eutychanorum, ex Ecclesiastica historia nuper de Græco in Latinum translata, et ex gestis Synodalibus, vel Sanctorum Patrum epistolis, hoc Breviarium collegi, nectens temporum curriculo, illa quæ in Græco Alexandriæ scripto accepi, vel gravissimorum hominum didici narratione fideli. Quod faciens pro mea eruditione et responsione contra falsiloquos utrarumque partium sectatores, qui consueto studio aliter loquuntur de suis auctoribus, quam veritas habet, libenter offero Catholicis fratribus, ignorantibus acta ipsarum hæresum, et legere volentibus p. 3. Edit. Garnier.

Note T. p. 56.

The following passage of Otto of Frisingen (A.D. 1146.) expresses, no doubt, the common opinion: Porro de duabus civitatibus, qualiter una in alia latendo usque ad adventum Christi, ac inde ad Constantinum paulatim progressa profecerit, supra satis dictum puto. A Constantino vero exterioribus malis ad plenum sopitis, ocepit intestinis malis, instigante diabolo, auctore Arrio, cooperantibus rerum dominis Augustis, graviter angi, usque ad Theodosium seniore. Ac deinceps, quia omnis non solum

populus, sed et principes catholici fuerunt, exceptis paucis, videor mihi non de duabus civitatibus, sed pene de una tantum, quam ecclesiam dico, historiam texuisse. Non enim, quamvis electi et reprobi in una sint domo, has civitates, ut supra, dixerim duas, sed proprie unam, sed permixtam tanquam grana cum paleis. Unde in sequentibus libellis non solum Romanorum Augustis, sed et aliis nobilium regnorum regibus Christianis factis, cum in omnem terram, et in fines orbis terræ exierit sonus verbi Dei, tanquam sopita civitate mundi, et ad ultimum plene exterminanda de civitate Christi, sed quamdiu peregrinatur, utpote sagena missa in mare, bonos et malos continente, coeptam historiam prosequamur. Manet tamen adhuc perfidia infidelium Judæorum et Gentilium civitas, sed regnis nobilioribus a nostris possessis, illis jam non solum ad Deum, sed et ad seculum ignobilioribus, vix aliqua ab eis gesta stylo digna, vel posteris commendanda inveniuntur. Ottonis Frisingensis Chron. Prolog. in librum quintum, p. 91. Edit. Basil. 1569.

Note U. p. 59.

Decedente, atque immo potius pereunte ab urbibus Gallicanis liberalium cultura litterarum, cum nonnullæ res gererentur vel recte, vel improbe, ac feritas gentium desæviret, regum furor acueretur, ecclesiæ impugnarentur ab hæreticis, a Catholicis tegerentur: ferveret Christi fides in plurimis, refrigesceret in nonnullis, ipsæ quoque ecclesiæ vel ditarentur a devotis, vel nudarentur a perfidis; nec reperiri possit quisquam peritus in arte dialectica grammaticus, qui hæc aut stilo prosaico, aut metrico depingeret versu. Ingemiscebant sæpius plerique, dicentes: Væ diebus nostris, quia periit studium litterarum a nobis, nec reperitur in populis, qui gesta præsentia promulgare possit in paginis. Ista etenim atque his similia jugiter intuens

dici, pro commemoratione præteritorum, ut notitiā attin-
gerent venientium, etsi inculto affatu, nequivi tamen
obtegere vel certamina flagitiosorum, vel vitam recte
viventium. Et præsertim his inlicitis stimulis, quod a
nostris fari plerumque miratus sum, quia philosophantem
rhetorem intelligunt pauci, loquentem rusticum multi;
libuit etiam animo, ut pro supputatione annorum ab ipso
mundi principio libri primi poneretur initium: cujus capi-
tula deorsum subjeci. Hist. Eccles. Francorum Præfatio.
Opera, Edit. Ruinart, p. 1.

Note V. p. 65.

Dindorf says in his preface to the new edition of Joannes
Malalas (Bonnæ, 1831): De ipsius autem Malalæ ingenio
summaque et inscitia et, si cum scriptoribus paullo anti-
quioribus conferatur, sermonis barbarie, qui ita sentiat ut
indigna arbitretur homine Syro sæculi sexti septimive cum
vulgo loquenti, ipsam rem Byzantinam oportet ignoret.
Præfat. p. 6.

Note W. p. 69.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου τοῦτον κατέλαβε, καὶ εἰς πέρας
ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κόπον οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ, καθὼς προ-
έφημεν, μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ ἀναγραφάμενος, τὸν τῇδε βίον
κατέλυσεν, καὶ πρὸς κύριον ἐξεδήμησεν ἐν ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει,
ἡμῖν, ὡς γνησίοις φίλοις, τὴν τε βίβλον ἣν συνέταξε ἀτελῇ
καταλέλοιπε, καὶ ἀφορμὰς παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπλη-
ρῶσαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀμαθείαν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, καὶ
τὸ στενὸν τοῦ λόγου, παρητούμεθα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ὡς ὑπὲρ
ἡμᾶς τὴν ἐγχείρησιν οὔσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ παρακαλέσας ἡμᾶς
πολλὰ μὴ ὀκνῆσαι, καὶ ἀτέλεστον καταλιπεῖν τὸ ἔργον, ἐβί-
ασατο ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἐλθεῖν. διὰ ἀναγκασθέντες διὰ τὴν τούτου
ὑπακοήν, εἰς τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἐγχειρήσαντες, κόπον οὐ τὸν
τυχόντα κατεβαλόμεθα. πολλὰς γὰρ βίβλους καὶ ἡμεῖς

ἐκζητήσαντες, καὶ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν ἐρευνήσαντες, τόδε χρονογραφεῖον ἀπὸ Διοκλητιανοῦ μέχρι τῆς βασιλείας Μιχαὴλ καὶ Θεοφυλάκτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, τὰς τε βασιλείας καὶ τοὺς πατριάρχας, καὶ τὰς τούτων πράξεις σὺν τοῖς χρόνοις κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν συνεγραψάμεθα, οὐδὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν συντάξαντες· ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἱστοριογράφων τε, καὶ λογογράφων ἀναλεξάμενοι, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις τόποις τετάχαμεν ἐκάστου χρόνου τὰς πράξεις ἀσυνχύτως κατατάττοντες· ἵνα εἰδέναι ἔχωσιν οἷς ἀναγινώσκοντες ἐν ποίῳ χρόνῳ ἐκάστου βασιλέως ποῖα πράξεις γέγονεν, ἥτε πολεμικῇ, ἥτε ἐκκλησιαστικῇ, ἥτε πολιτικῇ, ἥτε δημώδῃ, ἥτε τις ἑτέρα. Theophanes in Prooemio Chronographiæ, p. 2. Edit. Venet.

Note X. p. 73.

Sagittarius gives the following list of writers whose works illustrate the Ecclesiastical History of the times between Charlemagne and the end of the fifteenth century. The list is very far from complete: but I have thought it, upon the whole, better to adopt it, than to make a new selection. I have borrowed the dates, at which the several writers begin and end their principal works, from Hamberger.

Claruit.	Incipit.	Desinit.
*874 Ado Viennensis	ab Orbe condito	874
908 Regino Prumiensis	a Christo nato	906
968 Liuthprandus Cremonensis		886 960
1045 Glaber Radulphus		900 1044
*1054 Hermannus Contractus	ab O. C.	1054
1077 Lambertus Schafnaburgensis	ab O. C.	1077
*1086 Marianus Scotus	ab O. C.	1083
*1112 Sigebertus Gemblacensis		381 1112
1120 Hugo Floriacensis		418 1059

¹ The asterisk denotes the year of the writer's death.

Claruit.	Incipit.	Desinit.
*1158 Otto Frisingensis	ab O. C.	1156
1186 Godefridus Viterbiensis	ab O. C.	1186
*1240 Conradus Urspergensis	a Nino	1229
1237 Godefridus Coloniensis		1162 1237
1260 Albertus Stadensis	ab O. C.	1256
*1278 Martinus Polonus	ab Urbe C.	1278
*1264 Vincentius Bellovacensis	ab O. C.	1254
1312 Ptolomæus Lucensis		1060 1303
1307 Siffridus Misnensis		458 1306
1301 Henricus Stero		1152 1265
1361 Henricus Rebdorfiensis		1295 1363
1378 Albertus Argentinensis		1270 1349
1418 Gobelinus Persona	ab O. C.	1418
*1418 Theodoricus Niemius		1288 1418
*1434 Theodoricus Engelhusius	ab O. C.	1433
*1463 Blondus Flavius		400 1440
*1459 Antoninus Florentinus	ab O. C.	1459
1473 Auctor Rudimenti Novitiorum	ab O. C.	1473
1494 Wernerus Rolefinck	ab O. C.	1484

Note Y. p. 74.

It is a curious fact, and highly illustrative of the treatment which the writers of the middle ages have received from modern critics, that the elegance of the work of Eginhard induced some to suspect that the Latinity was improved by his first editor before it was printed. G. J. Vossius says, in his account of him: *Exstat ejus liber de vita Karoli Magni, quem ea scripsit dictionis puritate atque elegantia, ut cœtaneos longe superet, planeque videri possit aliquot ante seculis vixisse. Quod imprimis dictum velim, si ita scripsit Eginhartus, uti nunc legitur. Sed etsi pro ætate sua satis eleganter loquitur, (Suetonium sibi imitandum proposuisse, optime observatum est Casaubono,)*

tamen nec prætereundum est, primum Eginharti editorem Hermannum comitem Neuenarium, non instituisse antiquo codici quem habebat: sed in eo fuisse, ut passim floridius loquentem induceret. Quod ejus institutum, nequid dissimulem, probare neutiquam possim. De Historicis Latinis, lib. ii. cap. 33. p. 96. Opera, tom. iv. edit. 1699. A further examination of MSS. showed that there was no ground whatever for this suspicion. See Sagittarii Introd. tom. i. p. 616. Bayle, Dictionnaire, tom. ii. p. 342. edit. 1740.

Note Z. p. 76.

In the Preface he represents it as having been undertaken in order to supply materials to a friend (John, a deacon of Rome,) who was engaged in writing a history of the Church: Ecclesiasticam (Charissime Frater, et digne Christi Levita Joannes), auctore Deo, scripturus historiam, exigis a me quædam in Latinum styllum ex Græcis voluminibus transferenda: quo et ipsa quoque proposito inseras operi, et intexas. His enim duabus linguis præcipue, quæ in Ecclesia gesta sunt, enarrantur. Ego vero propriam inscitiam, et sermonis angustiam non ignorans, hoc agere tanto tempore merito recusavi; supra me videlicet esse tam arduum conamen proculdubio ratus. Sed quoniam ipse te propositum opus melius executurum fore asseveras, si ea, quæ in Latinis codicibus inveniri non possunt, prius ex Græcorum fonte haurienda percipias, faciam (Deo propitio) quod hortaris: præsertim cum Dei sit, quod agendum proponimus, et multis proculdubio causa profectus, atque salutis. Nec enim tibi tam charo tamque sapienti quicquam negare potero, qui profecto Apostoli documento imbutus, sapientibus et insipientibus debitor sum. Verum quia præcipue necessarium arbitror ea, quæ a Theodosio Principe juniore

in Ecclesia gesta sunt, enarrandi, ad cujus videlicet tempora Theodorus, Socrates et Sozomenus Eusebium Pamphili subsequentes libros Ecclesiasticæ historiæ texuerunt: operæ pretium duxi ex Georgii summam quædam, et Theophanis Chronographia plura, sed succincte carpenda, quorum prior usque ad Diocletianum, posterior vero usque ad Leonem, qui post Michaellem imperavit, patrem scilicet Ignatii, qui adhuc superest habenas Constantinopolitanæ tenens Ecclesiæ, prædicti operis sui stylum protraxit. Ex horum ergo Chronographiæ amoenissimo quædam decerpam horto, quæ amplissimæ tui operis mensæ obediens obsecutor opponam, quæ nimirum contemnere non debes, sed inter tua saltem secundum sensus virtutem sine fastidio collocare. Huic sane operi ratum duxi Beati Nicephori Constantinopolitani Episcopi Chronographiam proponere, ut scilicet et ex ea possis aliquantula carpere, et sicubi fortassis hac utendum iudicaveris, tuam non lateat omnino notitiam. Obsecro autem charitatem tuam, quæ omnia, secundum Apostolum, suffert, et non querit quæ sua sunt: immo per me obsecrat. universa Latinorum Ecclesia, ut sic scribendæ a te inchoetur opus historiæ, ut quæ ab ipso Christi adventu in Ecclesia gesta sunt, et textu Ecclesiasticæ historiæ non iudicantur indigna, nullo modo prætermittas. Exceptis his forte quæ Eusebius, Theodorus, Socrates et Sozomenus scripsisse noscuntur. Verum quia quosdam horum mentitos in quibusdam fuisse, et quædam prætermisisse probatur, quemadmodum et sanctus Papa Gregorius de Sozomeno apertissime scribit, obsecro mendacia horum veris approbationibus arguas, et quæ omiserunt nihilominus suppleas. pp. 1, 2.

Note AA. p. 79.

In his dedication to Liemar, Archbishop of Hamburg, he thus speaks of the sources from which he derived his

information: Scio tamen aliquos, ut in novis rebus fieri consuetum est, adversarios mihi non defuturos, qui dicant hæc ficta et falsa veluti Somnia Scipionis a Tullio meditata; dicant etiam si volunt per eburneam portam Maronis egressa. Nobis propositum est non omnibus placere, sed tibi, pater, et Ecclesiæ tuæ. Difficillimum est enim invidis placere. Et quoniam sic æmulum cogit improbitas, fateor tibi quibus ex pratis defloravi hoc sertum, ne dicar specie veri captasse mendacium. Itaque de his quæ scribo, aliqua per schedulas dispersa collegi, multa vero de historis mutuavi, et privilegiis Romanorum [Pontificum], pleraque omnia seniorum quibus res nota est traditione didici, testem habens veritatem, nihil de meo corde propalari, nihil temere definiri; sed omnia quæ positurus sum certis roborabo testimoniis, ut si mihi non creditur, saltem auctoritati tribuatur. In quo opere talibusque ausis sciant omnes, quod nec laudari cupio ut historicus, nec improbari metuo ut falsidicus. Sed quod bene ego non potui, melius scribendi cæteris materiam reliqui. Ap. Lindenbergii Scriptores Rerum German. Edit. Fabricii. Hamburgi, 1706.

Note BB. p. 80.

De rebus Ecclesiasticis, ut simplex Ecclesiæ filius, sincere fari dispono, et priscas patres pro posse moduloque meo nisu sequens sedulo, modernos Christianorum eventus rimari, et propalare satago. Unde præsens Opusculum, ECCLESIASTICAM HISTORIAM appellari affecto. Quamvis enim res Alexandrinas, seu Græcas vel Romanas, aliasque relatu dignas indagare nequeam, quia claustralis Cœnobita ex proprio voto cogor irrefragabiliter ferre Monachilem observantiam: ea tamen quæ nostro tempore vidi, vel in vicinis regionibus accidisse comperi, elaboro coadjuvante Deo simpliciter et veraciter enucleare posterorum inda-

gini. Firmiter ex conjectura præteritorum opinor, quod exurget quis me multo perspicacior, ac ad indagandos multimodarum, quæ per orbem fiunt, rerum eventus, potentior; qui forsitan de meis, aliorumque mei similium schedulis hauriet, quod chronographiæ narrationique suæ dignanter ad notitiam futurorum inseret. In Prolog. p. 321, 322.

Note CC. p. 85.

Cave, who implicitly follows Leo Allatius, gives a much more favourable opinion of the labours of Simeon Metaphrastes than I have expressed in the text: Jubente Constantino Aug. vitas sanctorum ante sua tempora scriptas undique conquisivit; conquisitas recensuit: elegantiores tanquam lectorum conspectu dignas, calculo suo approbavit, neque ulla in re mutatas divulgavit: minus elegantes vero partim nitidiori stylo vestitas, partim nova forma et methodo dispositas, in ordinem redegit ac digessit; quasdam etiam ex superiorum traditione acceptas proprio Marte ipse condidit. Hist. Lit. tom. ii. pp. 88, 89. But it is not easy to speak of him in more severe terms than those employed by the learned Romanist, Cotelierius. Speaking of the Life of St. Sabas, written by Cyril of Scythopolis, he says: Merebatur pro virtutibus suis ut minus a Simeone Metaphraste contaminaretur. Poterat quidem, si ita videbatur, minus Græca mutare, licet Græco-Barbara non careant sua utilitate, nec desint auctores unde purior Græcitas petatur. Sed cur (nihil dico de additionibus et mutationibus) quamplurima historica, magnique momenti, et scitu dignissima detraxerit, rationem et excusationem nequaquam video. Et tamen, ut solet fortuna deterioribus favere, Metaphrasteam Sabæ vitam multi codices MSS. hujus urbis continent, Cyrillianam autem in unico nactus sum. Eccles. Græcæ Monum. tom. iii. 574, B.

Note DD. p. 88.

Redaudot speaks with great severity of the work of Selden : Quæ vero Joannes Seldenus in longa præfatione ad librum, quem ipsi *Origines Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ* appellare placuit, commentatus est, non tam juvandis lectoribus, quam ostentandæ eruditioni cumulata sunt, quæ ut plurimum ad rem non pertinet. Quid enim, amabo, Abumasari, et aliorum doctorum Astronomorum mentio, quid omnia tandem valent, nisi ad confusionem historiæ Orientalis in qua infantissimus erat Seldenus ? Quod vero Seldenus Eutygium tantis laudibus exornavit, non alia causa factum, quam ut particulam ejus historiæ quæ Presbyterorum auctoritatem ad ordinandum Patriarcham spectare videbatur, majori fide commendaret. Hist. Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum, pp. 347, 348. He admits, however, to a certain extent, the value of the work of Eutychius : Habet sane Eutychius unde commendetur inter Orientales, apud quos historia generalis nulla extat, quæ cum illius opere possit comparari. Unde non solum Christiani, sed Makrizius et alii Muhamedani eam sequuntur, atque is ultimus eam ab utilitate sua laudandam existimavit, eamque descripsisse perpetuo deprehenditur. Mirum quippe est quanta sit Christianorum Orientalium in antiquis rebus inscitia. Cum enim dudum perierint Versiones Syriacæ autorum Ecclesiasticæ historiæ, sed soli tituli apud eos conserventur, præter sacras Scripturas nihil habent ultra Josephum Gorionidem, cujus exemplaria neque Græcis, neque Hebraicis, quorum nemo nescit quanta sit diversitas, neque inter se consentiunt. Nam plerique codices Arabici Josephi Gorionidis nomine, interpolatam Maccabaicorum librorum versionem repræsentant. Et tamen qualiscumque illa Eutychii historia sit, præstat omnino aliis, ut ex hoc opere nostro satis manifestum est : unde Jacobitis celeberr-

rimis cura fuit, ut illam circa Concilium Calchedonense, et res Entychii et Dioscori refellerent. Ibid. p. 348.

Note EE. p. 91.

‘*Ἡμεῖς οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόνῳ δῆτα πολλῇ ταύτην συνελεξάμεθα· τῷ μεγάλῳ νεῷ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου Σοφίας ἐξέτι νέοι ἱκανῶς παρεδρεύοντες· καὶ ἐκ τῶν πυρὰ ταύτης ὑπομνημάτων τὰ πλείω ἐρανιζόμενοι· τί γὰρ ἂν αὐτῇ χαρισαιμεθα, πολλῶν καὶ μεγίστων ἡμῖν δαψιλῶς μεταδούσῃ χρηστῶν· καὶ τοῦ γε κάλλους αὐτῆς ἐντρυφᾶν ἀνείσῃ· καὶ δίαιταν δὲ καὶ καταγωγὴν ἐν αὐτῇ πολλῇ τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ δωρησαμένη· ὥσαντι καὶ μαιενσαμένη, καὶ ἐς τόδε ἡλικίας ἡμᾶς καὶ λόγου προαγαγούσῃ· ἢ τὸ τὰ αὐτῆς ἅπαντα, ἴσον δ’ εἰπεῖν καὶ τὰ τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας, ὡς ἐνόν γε, ἄρδην διαλαβεῖν, καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐς κοινὴν προθεῖναι ἀκρόασιν; Eccles. Hist. Lib. I. cap. 1. pp. 37, 38.*

Note FF. p. 92.

Τῶν δὲ καθεξῆς χρόνων τὰς ἱερὰς πράξεις ἄχρι δὲ καὶ ἐς δεῦρο, καίπερ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας οὔσας καὶ οὐχ ἥττον ἢ ἐκεῖναι, οὐδενὶ πω τῶν εὖ ἱστορεῖν εἰδόντων εἰς νοῦν ἐγένετο, μᾶ περιγραφῇ συντάξεως, ἐκείνας τε καὶ ταύτας ὑφ’ ἐν πραγματεύεσθαι· οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε ῥαστώνῃ δὴ τινι παραλιπόντες τῆς φύσεως, εἴτε καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀποκνήσαντες. καὶ γε δὴ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐκ τοῦ παρήκοντος ἐρρίμμενων ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις συγγραφεῦσι καὶ πραγματείαις, δυσχερὲς ἐσάγαν καὶ δύσληπτος ἢ μνήμη τῶν γεγεννημένων καθίστατο, ἄλλης ἀλλαχοῦ διεσπαρμένης ἀμωσγέπως τῶν πράξεων. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν πόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ χρόνῳ τὴν ἐφ’ ἐκάστῃ διάθεσιν ἐξετάσαντες, δεῖν ὠήθημεν ὑπόθεσιν μίαν ἱστορικὴν τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας ὑφ’ ὁδηγοῦντι Θεῷ πραγματεύεσθαι· καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν,

ἰδίᾳ ὥς γ' ἐνὸν φράσει καὶ συντεταγμένη, πειράσομαι διελθεῖν τό τε περιττὸν καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ εἰκαῖον τῇ ὑποθέσει δόξαν, παραλιπεῖν τὸ δ' ἀναγκαῖον τῆς ἐννοίας κατὰ χώραν μένειν ἔασαι καὶ τὰ ἐνδεόντα προσεπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἐκείνων συγγράμμασιν ὅσα θ' ἕκαστος ἀναγκαῖα, τῶν ἄλλων παραλιπόντων, ἰστόρησε, τῷ συγγράμματι ἐξυφῆναι. Lib. I. cap. 1. p. 36. C.

Note FF*. p. 94.

Huic Libro titulum convenientem judicavi dari *Ecclesiasticam* videlicet *Historiam novam*, quia secundum formam Eusebii Cæsariensis Episcopi est tradita, vel *de Illustribus Viris* patuit dici. Sed primus magis conveniens, quia materia Codicis omnes viros, quasi Ecclesiasticos comprehendit a Domino nostro Jesu Christo usque ad tempora ista. . . . Ut vero fides præbeatur Auctori, quicquid quasi in hoc libro traditur præter declarationes scriptorum, totum per authenticos viros probatur, quos nos hic introducimus, videlicet Eusebium Cæsariensem Episcopum, Damasum Papam, Hieronymum Doctorem præclarum, Beatum Augustinum de Civitate Dei, et Josephum in libro de antiquitatibus Judæorum, Isidorum in suis historiis, et de Illustribus Viris, Gennadium de eisdem, et persæpe capitula Decretorum, more Theologico solito allegata, ut intelligant qui legunt, quia ipsa introducimus solum ad Historias verificandas et declarandas, non ad causas sive quæstiones definiendas, quæ majorem in allegando subtilitatem requirunt. Sunt etiam et alii Auctores Historiæ hic introducti, ut est Orosius in libro contra Paganos, Paulus Diaconus Cardinalis et Suppletor Historiarum Eutropii, alius Paulus in Historia Langobardorum et ipse origine Lombardus, Admonius Monachus in gestis Francorum, Eginardus Philosophus in gestis Caroli Magni et filii sui Ludovici, Frater Vincentius Beluacensis, Frater Martinus Polonus Ordinis

Fratrum Prædicatorum; Archiepiscopus Cusentinus; Sicardus Episcopus Cremonensis; Ricardus Monachus Cluniacensis, gesta Thuscorum, Longobardorum et Germanorum, ac Gotifredus Viterbiensis cancellarius Frederici Primi. Porro quia opus est satis diffusum, ad promptiorem ipsius habendam notitiam, oportet ipsum per Libros distinguere, qui sunt xxiv. et per capitula et libros secundum ipsius diversas materias et mutationes status Ecclesiæ. Sed et numerum Pontificum ad confusionem vitandam propter multitudinem opportunum est assignare. *Epist. Dedicat. pp. 751, 752.*

Note GG. p. 97.

Scio jamdudum expectare aures hominum, quodnam Pontificibus Romanis crimen impingam: profecto ingens, sive supinæ ignorantiae, sive immanis avaritiæ, quæ est Idolorum servitus: sive imperandi vanitatis, cujus crudelitas semper est comes. Nam aliquot jam seculis aut non intellexerunt donationem Constantini commentitiam fictamque esse, aut ipsi finxerunt: sive posteriores in majorum suorum dolis vestigia imprimentes pro vera, quam falsam cognoscerent, defenderunt; dedecorantes Pontificatus majestatem, dedecorantes veterum Pontificum memoriam, dedecorantes religionem Christianam, et omnia cædibus, minis flagitiisque miscentes. Suam esse aiunt urbem Romam, suum regnum Siciliae, Neapolitanumque; suam universam Italiam, Gallias, Hispanias, Germanos, Britanos; suum denique Occidentem. Hæc enim cuncta in ipsa donationis pagina contineri. Ergo hæc omnia tua sunt, summe Pontifex? Omnia tibi in animo est recuperare? Omnes reges ac principes Occidentis spoliare urbibus, aut cogere ut annua tibi tributa pensitent, sententia est? At ego contra existimo, justius licere principibus spoliare te imperio omni quod obtines. Nam ut ostendam,

donatio illa, unde natum esse suum jus summi Pontifices volunt, Silvestro pariter et Constantino fuit incognita. Verum antequam ad confutandam donationis paginam venio, quod unum istorum patrocinium est, non modo falsum, verum etiam stolidum; ordo postulat, ut altius repetam. Et primum dicam, non tales fuisse Constantinum Silvestrumque; illum quidem qui donare vellet, qui jure donare posset, qui, ut in manum alteri ea traderet, in sua haberet potestate: hunc autem, qui vellet accipere, quique jure accepturus foret. Secundo loco; si hæc non essent, quæ verissima atque clarissima sunt, neque hunc acceptasse, neque illum tradidisse possessionem rerum, quæ dicuntur donatæ, sed eas semper in arbitrio et imperio Cæsarum permansisse. Tertio, nihil datum Silvestro a Constantino, sed priori Pontifici, ante quem et baptismum acceperat; donaque illa mediocria fuisse, quibus Papa degere vitam posset. Quarto, falso dici, donationis exemplum aut apud decreta reperiri, aut ex historia Silvestri esse sumptum; quod neque in illa, neque in ulla historia invenitur. In eo quædam contraria, impossibilia, stulta, barbara, ridicula contineri. Præterea loquar de quorundam aliorum Cæsarum vel simulata, vel frivola donatione. Ubi ex abundantiam adjiciam, si Silvester possedisset, tamen sive illo, sive quovis alio Pontifice a possessione dejecto, post tantam temporis intercapedinem, nec divino, nec humano jure posse repeti. Postremo, ea quæ a summo Pontifice tenentur, nullius temporis longitudine posse præscribi. My copy of Valla's work is of the edition published by Ulric von Hutten, in 1517.

Note HH. p. 99.

In a letter prefixed to his "*Annales Hirsaugienses*" he thus describes his labour in composing that work: Men-

sibus quinquaginta quatuor continue in hoc opere desudavi adeo constanter atque tenaciter, ut ne tempus quidem refocillationi corporis mei necessarium, et a Regula permis- sum, liberum habere ab hac editione potuerim. Continue semper et sine intermissione, die ac nocte, vigilans et dor- miens, aut mente aut corpore Hirsaugianis occupatus fui Annalibus. Etenim vigilans diem comportando, discer- nendo, ordinando ac scribendo totum in laboribus consum- mavi: noctem dormiens interruptam earum occupationum imagines nimium sustinui molestas et importunas, quarum archetypo dietenus fueram occupatus. Labor is magnus et sine utilitate molestissimus plus me læsit nocturnæ fu- liginis umbra somniantem, quam omnis labor diuturnus scribentem. Annal. Hirsaug. p. 5. ed. 1690.

Note II. p. 100.

Debemus hoc Christianismo, qui solus nostris provinciis (ut cæteris), omnem, qua fruimur, civilitatem invexit, ut seposita commemoratione, sacræ religionis rationem habea- mus: ostendentes, per quos viros, quoque tempore, munus hoc æternitatis pervenerit eis, quas commemorando percur- rimus, nationibus; ut reddatur sanctis pontificibus suis honor, qui hoc suis temporibus et omni posteritati præsti- terunt, ut veram et sanctissimam Christi religionem am- plecterentur. Quibus perinde magis sumus obnoxii, quod æternæ salutis nobis vias aperuerunt, vestigiaque signa- runt, quibus innitentes aberrare non possumus. Præfat. p. 1.

Note JJ. p. 101.

Si ergo reformatio debeat esse regularis et ordinaria, oportet ante omnia, quod noster Papa et sua Romana Cu- ria primo et principaliter reformetur, propter multos ex-

cessus multasque exorbitantias, quæ per eum et suos Cardinales; per illam execrabilem et maledictam simoniam quotidie committuntur in vendendo ecclesiastica beneficia, quemadmodum porci et vaccæ in foro publico vendi consueverunt; cum res Ecclesiæ non sunt ejus, ut dictum est, sed ut dispensatoris. Per quam turpissimam venditionem aurum et argentum in fornace conflatur et in suis marsupiiis includere festinat non timens, quod tanto gravius in hujusmodi peccat, quanto in altiori gradu consistit. Gravamina Nationis Germanicæ adversus Curiam Romanam, ap. Walchii *Monimenta Medii Ævi*, vol. i. Fascicul. I. pp. 105, 106. This piece is assigned by Walch to the year 1450. It is nothing more than a fair specimen of the light in which the court of Rome was regarded from the time of the great schism to the Reformation.

Note KK. p. 101.

Ulric Von Hutten, probably before he heard the name of Luther, thus writes in his dedication of his edition of Valla's *Declamation to Leo X.*: In illos vere detestandi sceleris commentores Pontifices, omnia acerbissima dicta, omniaque ferocissima facta conveniunt. Quidni? In depeculatores, in fures, in tyrannos, in latrones. Quis violentior enim latro est, quam qui ita rapit, ut rapiendi modum nullum statuatur? Hi fuerunt qui in minimo arrepta occasione, ad immensum progressi sunt diripiendi licentia. Qui gratias venum exposuerunt: qui condonationes, qui dispensationes, et infiniti generis bullas qui vendiderunt tanto jam tempore. Qui in peccatorum remissione pretium statuerunt, et in pœnis inferorum invenerunt sibi lucrum. Qui sacerdotia hic, eleemosynam parentum nostrorum passi sunt ab se mercari. Qui Germanis persuaserunt episcopos non esse, qui ab se pallia non emerint, multis aureorum

milibus. Qui contenti non sunt exigere extra ordinem quotannis semel, sed mittebant quoties in mentem venisset, qui colligerent aliis alii de causis: nonnulli quasi bellum apparaturi contra Turcas: alii ut templum, quod perfici non curant, Romæ Divo Petro extruant. Qui cum hæc omnia facerent, tamen salutari se vulgo beatissimos et sanctissimos volebant: nec aliquid in suos mores dici patiebantur, nedum fieri. Si quis vero libertatis meminisset, aut si quis rapientibus impedimentum, aut moram si quis omnino objecisset, in ejus sæviebant animam, perdentes actutum.

Note LL. p. 106.

Quare falsissimum est papistarum sophisma, qui nobis nostræque religioni odiosam novitatis notam, sibi que vetustatis decus attribuere violenter conantur: quandoquidem et primitiva Ecclesia ferme 300 a Christo annis, penitus nobiscum sentiens, a Papatus erroribus, abusibus et tyrannide penitus aliena fuerit. Et in ea quæ postea sequuta est, cum jam semina istarum abominationum pullulare inciperent, plerique ac præcipui doctores eisdem restiterint: et denique regnante jam ac florente Antichristo Romano, cum suis desolationum abominationibus, nihilominus semper aliqui, iique non pauci doctores et auditores ubique ferme terrarum, eisdem non tantum genua incurvare noluerint, sed etiam serio ac constanter voce, scriptis, et denique sanguine ac martyrio suo repugnarint, ab eis que se, totamque Dei Ecclesiam liberari toto pectore optaverint, ac ex imis præcordiis gemuerint. Catal. Testium, Præfat.

Note MM. p. 111.

Est autem ipse processus, ut sic dicamus, tractationis in ista quatuor quasi operas distributus. Primum alimus certis stipendiis jam septem studiosos, doctrina et iudicio

mediocri præditos, qui autores sibi propositos evolvunt summa attentione et fide, ac juxta Methodi metas solícite et curiose singula excoerpunt, et quasi Anatomian autorum faciunt, suoque loco quælibet adscribunt, idque faciunt semper unum seculum post aliud in manus accipientes.

Deinde alimus duos Magistros, ætate, doctrina et rectitudine judicii præstantes, quibus quod priores sedulæ ac industriæ apiculæ ex variis locis ac floribus convexerunt, traditur, ut rerum congestarum dijudicationem faciant, delineant ac disponant, quæ in scriptionem venire debent, ac denique pertractent et connectant narratione Historica.

Tertio constituti sunt ex gubernatorum numero quidam inspectores, qui collectoribus materias distribuunt, et ea quæ sunt delineata, examinant, et rerum judicium atque partium collocationem adjuvant. (Nihil enim scribitur, nisi prius hac ratione dijudicatum sit.) Scripta deinde rursus sub limam vocant, ac denique etiam quædam, pro necessitate ipsi contextunt ac scribunt.

Quarto alimus Amanuensem ut vocant, qui sic composita melius describit.

Ultra hosce, sunt communes totius operis gubernatores et inspectores optimæ fidei homines quinque, qui consiliis præsumt, et idoneas personas accersunt, non idoneas dimittunt, habent sumptuum rationem. Unus autem ex istis, si quid contribuitur, custodit, et habet libellos acceptorum et expensorum.

Note NN. p. 113.

The Centuriators were quite aware of the merits of their work. The following passages, one of which is on the title, and the other on the next page, do not exactly accord with the modesty which a more fastidious age expects in authors: Typographus Lectori. Hoc opere nul-

lum aliud ab orbe condito, ejusdem quidem argumenti, Reipub. Christianæ et utilius et magis necessarium, in lucem esse editum, æquus atque sinceri judicii Lector, vel ex Præfatione, qua etiam contexendi hujus causæ exponuntur, adjectaque in primis historici operis Methodo ac singulorum capitum metis generalibus, facile deprehendet. — Lectori S. Passim hoc sæculo plurimi fuci proveniunt, qui alienos labores sine fronte rapiunt, suosque faciunt. Id ne nobis quoque accidat, significandum duximus, nos ipsos qui hoc opus historicum jam in lucem damus, in hoc esse, ut in Germanicam transfundatur linguam: et in eo negotio quotidie progredimur. Rogamus igitur omnes amanter, ne nobis quæ nostra sunt abalienentur. Novit enim unusquisque præceptum Dei, non furtum facias. Vale.

Note OO. p. 117.

Habent autem interea Centuriatores, quod nec ferre debemus, nec ullo modo possumus excusare. Est autem illud, quod correpti illo *morbo*, de quo nunc egimus, *Epidemio*, suis partibus, animis, et affectibus, majorem in modum per Centurias illas omnes et singulas, indulgeant: quod non ut rerum gestarum narratores, sed tanquam adversarii, vel constituti in causa advocati, laudare, vituperare, pugnare, oppugnare, lacerare, lancinare, rodere, soleant, vel ultra meritum et metas commendare interdum, prout ipsis placuerint, aut e rebus suis fuerint, vel etiam displicuerint res enarrandæ. Ita se gerunt, tanquam Patroni processissent, vel Accusatores, potius quam Testes producti, vel obsignatores, qui de mera et sola respondeant veritate: qui de Facto inquirent, et testentur, non de consilio, proposito, voluntate. Certum est Historiam rite institutam et ordinatam, ulterius non progredi quam ut

doceat præsentia ac præterita ; nihil addat de suo ; demat nihil ; mutando, movendo, molliendo, aggravando, res quas-cunque gestas, non transformet, non delumbet, non addendo excolat, ullo modo. Peccant hic graviter, fatendum est, Centuriatores, sugillant Ecclesiam : objurgant Patres : Doctrinam aliquoties, Disciplinam sæpissime vel receptissimam *στυγματίζουσι*, eo quod non consentiant cum ipsorum placitis, quæ, per errorem opinionis perversæ, sibi prius ipsis, absque Dei verbo, tanquam Dei consultum, confinxerant. Itaque non suas opiniones, quod par et æquum fuerat, ad normam exigunt revelati verbi, perpetua Traditione Ecclesiæ intellecti ; sed verbum ipsum Dei, formulam et præscriptionem Credendorum, ad suas conceptas traducunt opiniones. Appar. ad Origines Ecclesiasticas, Præfat. § 50—53.

Note PP. p. 118.

He says, in his preface,—Si ceux qui ont principalement travaillé en ceste suite et ordre continuel de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique, viennent à se plaindre que je n'ay pas en tout et partout suivi l'ordre qu' ils ont tenu, et qu'en quelques endroits j'ay parlé autrement de la doctrine qu'ils n'ont pas fait : en premier lieu je respon qu'avant qu'ils eussent mis leur labeur en lumière, j'avoye délibéré de recueillir de Eusèbe, de l'Histoire Tripartite, et des autres Auteurs Ecclésiastiques, ce que j'eusse peu : et maintenant ayant leur livre en main je ne me suis point voulu assujettir à une traduction simple, ains extraire ce que m'a semblé bon ou plus utile : et si j'ay trouvé des histoires qui n'ont point si grand poids qu'on ne les puisse rejeter entre les fables, et sur lesquelles les Papistes ont basti des superstitions lourdes et pernicieuses, il m'a semblé aussi qu'il ne les falloit laisser passer sans avertissement. Elles méritoient

bien d'estre du tout omises : mais pour ce que aucunes sont récitées par gens renommez entre les fidèles, les autres ont esté dès long temps et communement receues comme oracles infallibles, le plus expédient a esté, selon mon avis, de ne les oublier point, et aussi de ne taire l'abus qui y estoit. Touchant la doctrine, j'eusse bien désiré qu'ils se fussent assujettis à la simplicité de la verité du Fils de Dieu, et qu'ils ne se fussent lasché la bride à semer par ci par là leurs opinions particulières, sous ombre de la lecture d'une histoire, laquelle est friande et attrayante : et alors j'eusse volontiers suyvi et le mesme ordre qu'ils ont tenu, et la mesme doctrine qu'ils eussent proposée. Cependant je n'ay du tout rejetté leur labeur, ains confesse franchement qu'ils m'ont relevé de grand' peine : car il m'eust falu aler chercher en plusieurs auteurs ce qu'ils ont amassé en un volume, et par bonne méthode, selon mon jugement. Je les repute en cela dignes de louange : et à miene volonté qu'ils se fussent contenus en bonne simplicité quant à quelques certain poincts de la doctrine de salut, laquelle doit estre traittée en toute pureté et humilité.

Préface.

Note QQ. p. 126.

Il seroit à souhaiter que Baronius se fût contenté de rapporter les faits de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique, sans entrer dans des controverses et dans des intérêts particuliers. Cependant il faut avouer que son Ouvrage est d'une très-grande étendue, bien digéré, plein de grandes recherches, composé avec soin, et avec autant d'exactitude qu'on peut espérer d'un homme qui entreprend le premier un Ouvrage aussi vaste et aussi difficile que celui-là. Il est vrai que l'on y a remarqué depuis plusieurs fautes de Chronologie et d'His-

toire ; que l'on a découvert plusieurs faits dont il n'a point eu de connoissance ; qu'il s'est servi de plusieurs Monumens supposés ou douteux ; qu'il a rapporté quantité de faits faux comme véritables ; et qu'il s'est trompé en plusieurs endroits. Mais quoique sans vouloir exagérer le nombre de ses fautes avec Luc Holstenius, qui disoit qu'il étoit prêt de montrer huit mille faussetez dans les Annales de Baronius, on ne puisse nier qu'il n'y en est beaucoup : Il faut néanmoins avouer que son Ouvrage est très-bon et très-utile, et que c'est avec raison qu'il est appelé le Père des Annales Ecclésiastiques. Il faut encore remarquer qu'il a été beaucoup plus exact dans l'Histoire des Latins que dans l'Histoire des Grecs, parcequ'il avoit une connoissance fort médiocre du Grec, et qu'il étoit obligé de se servir du secours de Pierre Morin, de Metius et du Père Sirmond pour les Monumens qui n'étoient point traduits en Latin. Son style n'a ni la pureté ni l'élégance qui seroient à souhaiter dans un Ouvrage de cette nature, et l'on peut dire qu'il écrit plutôt en Dissertateur qu'en Historien ; il n'est néanmoins clair, intelligible et méthodique. Du Pin, Nouvelle Bibliothèque, Tome xvii. p. 2, 3.

Die Protestanten selbst erkennen, dass sie dieses Werks nicht entbehren können. Mit einem ungemeinen Fleisse hat darinne Baronius zuerst fast vollständige und zusammenhängende Jahrbücher der ganzen christlichen Geschichte in ihren ersten zwölfhundert Jahren gesammelt. Er hat aus dem pabstlichen Archiv eine grosse Menge Urkunden hervor gezogen, welche ein neues Licht über die Geschichte ausgebreitet haben. Und es ist nicht bloss die Kirchenhistorie, sondern jede andere Art der Geschichte, zu welcher in seinem Werke ein trefflicher Vorrath verborgen liegt. Schröckh, Kirchengeschichte, Th. I. S. 229, 230.

Note R.R. p. 129.

In the epistle dedicatory to the Duke of Wirtemberg, prefixed to the first volume, Osiander thus explains the motives which led him to undertake the work: *Multa laude digni sunt viri doctissimi, qui infinito prope labore, ex omnibus, quos habere potuerunt, Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis Historiam congesserunt (quam Magdeburgicam vocamus), eamque in certas Centurias annorum distribuerunt. . . . Cum autem utilissimus iste labor multis Tomis comprehendatur: et plerunque Theologiæ studiosi magnitudine sumtuum ab emptione deterreantur: multi vero, et quidem magni politici, magnitudine negotiorum gravissimorum impediuntur, quo minus tam proluxa scripta evolvere queant; cum tamen Theologicis lucubrationibus legendis vehementer delectentur; cœpi ego cogitare, an non ea, quæ copiose in illa Magd. Hist. Eccles. (et plurimis interdum locis) referuntur, possent in Epitomen quandam ita redigi, ut nihil rerum scitu admodum necessarium omitteretur: et simul etiam singulorum annorum series observaretur. . . . Plurimum igitur adjutus Magdeburgicis illis Centuriis (sine quibus laborem hunc nequaquam aggredi ausus fuisset) collegi trium priorum Centuriarum quasi compendium quoddam: quod nunc in lucem dare volui, ne eos, qui dudum editionem a me efflagitarunt, diutius suspensos tenerem.*

Note SS. p. 137.

Toutefois le désir de profiter à mes Frères, et le jugement de quelques Personnes également habiles et pieuses, m'ont fait surmonter toutes ces difficultéz, et m'exposer à la censure des ignorans, et des Doctes, en un temps où ne gardant plus de mesure pour personne, elle n'est pas moins injuste que furieuse. Comme je n'ay pas écrit pour les

Sçavans (ce que je veux bien répéter encore une fois) j'ay retranché toutes les Controverses, soit pour les temps, soit pour les faits, soit pour la doctrine, afin de n'interrompre point le fil de ma Narration, et de proposer les choses dans une suite claire et facile, qui les imprimast dans la mémoire des Lecteurs.

Note TT. p. 141.

Sacra Bibliotheca Sanctorum Patrum supra ducentos, qua continentur, illorum de rebus Divinis opera omnia et fragmenta, quæ partim nunquam hactenus, partim ita ut raro jam extarent, excussa: vel ab Hæreticis corrupta: nunc primum Sacræ Facultatis Theologiæ Parisiensis censura satis gravi, sine ullo novitatis aut erroris furore in perfectissimum corpus coaluerunt. Distincta in Tomos octo: Epistolarum, Historiarum, Moraliæ, Liturgiarum, Disputationum contra Hæreses, Commentariorum, Homiliarum, Poematumque sacrorum mixtim et Tractatum in pene singula et fidei Christianæ, et Scripturæ sacræ loca: illustrata, Virorum doctissimorum Scholiis, Observationibus, accurate annotatis ad marginem Scripturæ Lectionibus, vitis Authorum, cum eorum catalogo Alphabetario, et Chronologia: Biblicarum quoque Authoritatum, et Materiarum locupletissimis Indicibus: Per Margarinum de la Bigne, Theologum Doct. Parisiensem. Parisiis, 1575. Folio. This is the title of the first edition, a rare book, which I am happy enough to possess. It was designed to rival the collections which had been published under the auspices of Protestant editors at Basil, some years earlier. The second edition, in which a new arrangement was adopted, (substantially the same as was ever after observed in the Paris editions,) appeared in nine volumes in 1589. Both of them grievously incurred the displea-

sure of Rome; and the second in particular, though poor De la Bigne did all he could by adulation and servility to propitiate the zealots, is the very prey of the Roman and Spanish Indices. (Ittigius de Bibl. PP. pp. 82—91. Mendham's Literary Policy of the Church of Rome, pp. 116—128.) Nevertheless a third edition (castigated, however, in conformity with the directions of the famous Brasichelensis) appeared in 1609; a fourth in 1624; and two more, both in seventeen volumes, respectively in 1644 and 1654. The Cologne edition of 1618 was a sort of opposition to those of Paris, and was free from the liberality and honesty which made De la Bigne's collection so obnoxious to the violent Romanists. The subsequent editions (or rather subsequent collections with the same title, for the plan of De la Bigne was henceforth discarded, and the chronological arrangement employed by the Cologne editors adopted,) belong to a period later than that referred to in the text. That of Lyons (*Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*) appeared in 1677; and that of Venice (*Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, opera et studio Andr. Gallandii*,) was commenced in 1765, and discontinued with the fourteenth volume in 1788. It does not go beyond the twelfth century.

Note UU. p. 142.

The proposal to continue this great work is made in a pamphlet of sixty pages, intituled, "*De Prosecutione Operis Bollandiani quod Acta Sanctorum inscribitur*," which was published in April last, and is subscribed by four Belgian Jesuits, (Joannes-Baptista Boone, Josephus Vandermoere, Prosper Coppens, Josephus Van Hecke). They give an account of the causes which have hitherto prevented an attempt to resume the undertaking; and profess their determination to continue it upon the prin-

ciples of their predecessors. Nihil porro est, quod de materia texturaque operis hagiographici disseramus; non enim novum vel ignotum edimus, sed continuamus, quantum per vires et industriam licuerit, quod a decessoribus nostris inceptum et promotum fuit. They request assistance from all who feel interested in their labours. Quare omnes, quibus sacra antiquitas, solida eruditio et religio cordi est, in subsidium et consortium operis vocamus, rogamusque ut si quæ præ manibus habent, quibus Sanctorum cultus fulciatur aut illustretur, ea nobis commodanda saltem non denegent. Præsertim communicari nobiscum optamus *speciales Sanctorum vitas, martyrologia peculiaria, kalendaria et codices lithurgicos, breviaria aut officia propria etiam antiquata; speciales locorum historias, descriptiones provinciarum, diæcesium, urbium et cœnobiolorum; translationum reliquiarum et insigniorum miraculorum instrumenta*, quantum fieri potest, *authentica*; libros aut libellos, qui enarrent quomodo *monasteria, templa, altaria, pia sodalitia nomine Sanctorum decorata fuerint; quidquid denique servorum Dei sanctitatem demonstret atque confirmet*. Hujusmodi documentis hagiographia coalescit, et vel fabulosa nonnumquam indignant veritatem, a qua deriventur. Nihil igitur est quod repudiatum velimus, cum sit fere nihil quod utile esse non possit ad veritatem historicam adstruendam. They add a list of the saints who are to be noticed in the continuation of the work.

Note VV. p. 148.

In the preface to the first edition, he thus describes his plan for the history of each century: Primo synopsis Ecclesiasticæ illius sæculi historiæ certa redactam ad capita exhibeo. Hac in synopsi, persecutionum, quibus Ecclesia jactata est, narrationem: Pontificum, qui ipsam rexerant, seriem ac gesta; hæreseon, quibus

ejus fides impugnata et violata fuit, ortum, incrementa, errores: Conciliorum, quibus vel hæreses damnatæ, vel sancita disciplina est, historiam et decreta: Authorum sacrorum, qui lucubrationibus Ecclesiam suis protexerunt et illustrarunt, indicem, et operum, quæ eorum nominibus inscribuntur, criticum examen; Principum denique, a quibus per illud tempus administrata est Respublica, præcipua facinora, totiusque adeo sæcularis historiæ summam conspicies. Secundo exquisitas in historiam illius sæculi Dissertationes subjicio: quarum aliæ proprie facta historica, paucæ Chronologiam, nonnullæ disciplinam ac mores Ecclesiæ, Criticam sacram aliquæ, plurimæ Concilia, cum frequentia occurrunt; quarto nimirum, sequentibusque sæculis; aliæ denique spectant dogmata cum hæreticis veteribus aut novis controversa. Enimvero cum mihi non videatur satis hæreseon monstra prodidisse, nisi et arma, quibus confodiantur, subministrem; Panopliam adjungo adversus illius sæculi hæreses, cujus historiam descripsi; et palmares ipsarum errores argumentis ex Scriptura Sacra et Traditione depromptis impugno, maximeque ex eorum doctrina Patrum, qui adversus ipsas data opera scripserunt. Hæc summa rerum a me in eo, quod suscepi, opere tractandarum; hic earum in tractatione servandus ordo.

Note VV. p. 155.*

Since the account of Fleury inserted in the text, was in the hands of the printer, I have met with a new edition of his work, from the title of which it appears, that four more books, which have hitherto remained in MS., are about to be published. *Histoire du Christianisme* (connue sous le nom d'*Ecclésiastique*), par l'Abbé Fleury, &c. augmentée de Quatre Livres (les livres ci. cii. ciii. et civ.) compre-

nant l'histoire du Quinzième siècle, publiés pour la première fois d'après un Manuscrit de Fleury appartenant à la Bibliothèque Royale, et continuée jusqu'à la fin du dix-huitième siècle par une Société d'Ecclesiastiques, sous la direction de M. L'Abbe O. Vidal, Membre du Clergé de Paris. Avec une Table Générale des Matières sur le plan de celle de Rondet. Paris, 1836. It is in large octavo; and the third volume, the last which I have seen, comes down to the end of the 56th Book, which terminates with the year 975.

Note WW. p. 166.

On peut dire que l'Histoire des Variations a produit celle-ci, et qu'elle en a fait naître le dessein. Nous n'avons pas entrepris cet ouvrage afin d'y étaler les variations de l'ancienne Eglise, et les contradictions des Docteurs particuliers, à Dieu ne plaise ! Pourquoi chercher dans un beau visage toutes les tâches qui le déshonorent, et travailler avec effort pour diminuer le respect et l'estime qu'on a pour les Pères ? Ces divisions des Théologiens et des Pères de l'ancienne Eglise ne sont entrées dans notre Histoire, que quand la chose étoit inévitable, et que la sincérité dont nous faisons profession, nous empêchoit de les dissimuler. Mais en écrivant contre M. de Meaux nous trouvâmes dans son livre une longue digression, chargée d'accusations contre les Albigeois et les Vaudois, que les Réformez regardent comme leurs ancêtres, et comme ceux qui ont fait passer la vérité jusqu'à nous. Cet incident parût plus important que le principal, et nous crûmes dès lors qu'il étoit absolument nécessaire de faire l'histoire entière de la succession de l'Eglise, et de montrer le cours de la Religion de siècle en siècle, depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à nous.

On exécute aujourd'hui ce qu'on ne pouvoit faire alors, et on donne une Histoire du Gouvernement de l'Eglise, de ses principaux Dogmes, et de son Culte. Quoiqu'on ait vu paroître plusieurs Histoires Ecclésiastiques, et que divers Savans de l'une et de l'autre Communion ayent donné des Traitez historiques sur certains dogmes, et sur quelque partie du culte, celle-ci ne laissera pas d'avoir quelque chose de nouveau, parceque le dessein en est plus étendu, qu'on y rassembra des parties séparées, dont on a fait un corps, tellement qu'on peut voir d'un coup d'œil ce qui s'est dit et fait de plus considérable sur chaque matière de siècle en siècle. Préface, p. vi. vii.

Note XX. p. 174.

As a specimen, I transcribe his opinion of the Arian controversy: Es waren nunmehr beyde Partheyen und also die meisten christlichen Lehrer von der ersten Einfalt des Glaubens abgewichen und hatten an Statt des thätigen Christenthums blosser Meynungen, leere Sätze Kunst-wörter und seuchtige Fragen auf die Bahn gebracht. Auch was die Alten noch vor einen Ausdruck in der Krafft gehabt hatten, das nahmen diese nur nach der Schale und dem äusserlichen Klang an, disputirten sich damit herum, und vergassen des einigen nothwendigen Gantz dabey, wolten hingegen die unausprechliche Gottheit mit gewissen Worten beschreiben, und in so enge Schranken das unendliche Wesen einschliessen. Dahero auch hernach auf Seiten der Arianer bey dem stetigen Disputiren und Zancken die christliche Pflicht hindan gesetzt ward, gleichwie man in dem Verfahren der Orthodoxen kein Zeichen des wahren Christenthums mehr findet. B. iv. c. viii. 8. Th. i. 205. But the Arians had already found a champion. The work of Christophorus

Sandius, intituled “*Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ exhibita in historia Arianorum, tribus libris comprehensa,*” published at Amsterdam in 1668, was an attempt to maintain the antiquity of Socinianism.

Note YY. p. 181.

The following list of the Benedictine editions of the Fathers may perhaps be found useful. It has been compiled chiefly from Le Cerf and Tassin:—

TITLE.	EDITOR.	SIZE.	DATE.
S. Barnabæ Epistola	Ménard,	4to. Par.	1642.
B. Lanfranci Cantuar. Opera	D'Achery,	fol.	1648.
S. Bernardi Opera	Mabillon,	tom. 2. fol.	1667.
S. Anselmi Cantuar. Opera	Gerberon,	fol.	1675.
S. Augustini Opera	{ Delfau, Blampin, Cou- stant, Guesnié, Mabillon, tom. 11. fol.	Paris. 1679—1700.	
Cassiodori Opera	Garet, tom. 2. fol.	Rothomagi, 1679.	
S. Ambrosii Opera	{ Du Frische and Le Nourri, tom. 2. fol.	Paris. 1686—90.	
S. Hilarii Pictav. Opera	Coustant,	fol. Paris.	1693.
S. Hieronymi Opera	{ Martianay, Pouget & Bara, tom. 5. fol.	Paris. 1693—1706.	
S. Athanasii Opera	Montfaucon, tom. 3. fol.	Paris. 1698.	
S. Gregorii Turonensis Opera	Ruinart,	fol. Paris.	1699.
S. Gregorii Papæ I. Opera	{ De Sainte Marthe, tom. 4. fol.	Paris. 1706.	
S. Hildeberti Turonensis Opera	Beaugendre,	fol. Paris.	1708.
S. Irenæi contra Hæreses libri v.	Massuet,	fol. Paris.	1710.
Lucii Cæcilii Liber de mortibus per- secutorum	{ Le Nourri,	8vo. Paris.	1710.
S. Joannis Chrysostomi Opera	{ Montfaucon, tom. 13. fol.	Paris. 1718—38.	
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S. Cypriani Opera, post Baluzium	Maran,	fol. Paris.	1726.
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S. Gregorii Nazian. Operum tomus 1	Clémencet,	fol. Paris.	1778.

Note ZZ. p. 184.

After criticising with some severity the principles of writing Ecclesiastical history professed by Fleury, he thus states his own views: Può ciascuno dalle cose finora dette agevolmente inferirne, non essere io stato come l'Istorico Franzese, sì scrupoloso in attenermi alla pura narrazione de i fatti, ma essermi preso la libertà di premettere i convenienti preamboli, a fine di accennare i consigli, e le cagioni, e le origini delle cose; e di connettere insieme, il meglio che per me si è potuto, una parte dell' Istoria coll' altra e procurato di farvi sopra, o più tosto mescolarvi e inserirvi le mie riflessioni; in che specialmente mi son preso maggior licenza, quando ho creduto di non patermi dispensare dal trattare alcun punto o della profana, o della Giudaica Storia In somnia non ho mai in lietta la serie del mio discorso perduto di mira Gesu Cristo, e la sua Chiesa; e siccome i migliori Storici Greci e Romani non si sono divertiti a narrar le cose delle altre Monarchie, e degli altri stati, se non in quanto intervenivano ne i loro affari le Greche o la Romana Republica: così neppur io ho creduto di dover toccare le cose appartenenti alla Romana, o alla Giudaica Istoria, se non in quanto si vede, essere state ordinate e dirette le cose loro da una special Providenza in favor della Chiesa, e si vede in esse risplendere la gloria di Gesu Cristo, e avere anche gli uomini empj, senza saperlo, contribuito all'esecuzione de i suoi disegni, e all'adempimento delle sue profezie. Benchè io abbia usata tutta la diligenza ed esattezza possibile nel raccogliere la materia di questa Istoria da i più antichi e accreditati Scrittori, senza punto alterare i fatti, nè aggiugner loro, o sottrarne alcuna notabile circostanza; non ho però voluto farmi schiavo delle loro parole, ma scrivere a modo mio, e valermene con libertà. Prefazione, p. 18—20.

Note AAA. p. 186.

Trouvant beaucoup d'exagération, de contradictions, de fausses imputations, dans ce qu'on nous raconte de Manichée, de ses Dogmes, et de sa Morale; j'ai tâché de l'examiner en Critique. J'ai eu pitié d'une Secte, déjà trop malheureuse, pour avoir étrangement corrompu la Foi Chrétienne, et pour avoir été dès sa naissance l'objet des fureurs d'un zèle inhumain. Je la justifie, quand il me parôit qu'on l'a calomniée: je l'excuse, quand elle me parôit excusable, et je ne croi pas qu'on doive m'en savoir mauvais gré. Si je suis dans l'erreur, c'est dans l'erreur du monde la plus innocente. Tome I. p. 3.

Note BBB. p. 193.

It was probably the first work of this nature which was written from the sources. He says in his preface: *Principes hæc mea cura fuit, ut narrationi fidem et auctoritatem compararem. Eâ re ipsos fontes, ex quibus haurienda est, scriptores puta omnium ætatum optimos et rebus, de quibus exponunt, aut æquales, aut vicinos adii et attente consului, quæque scripta in illis inveni breviter, perspicue, nervose retuli. Solent plerumque, qui brevès *Historiarum Summas* conficiunt, majores et longiores aliorum Commentarios contrahere: et hunc ego morem in multis ipse olim sequutus sum. Habet ille suas causas, nec totus improbari potest: idem vero efficit, ut errores quibus longa et magnæ molis opera semper fere abundant, perennitatem quodammodo adipiscantur et ex uno libro in plurimos alios migrent. Dudum hoc infinitis exemplis edoctus noveram: verum denuo non sine animi molestia didici, quum lumen testium primi ordinis libro meo ad-moverem. Animadverti enim, etiam eorum fidem, qui diligentia et fide ceteris omnibus præstare putantur, non*

satis tutam esse, atque amplissimam ubique occasionem addendi, demendi, mutandi, corrigendi reperi. In hoc labore scio nec constantiam et industriam mihi defuisse, nec attentionem et vigilantiam: quibus ducibus num errandi semper periculum feliciter effugerim, difficillimum vero hoc esse nemo harum rerum peritus ignorat, viderint, qui rerum inter Christianos gestarum cognitione ducuntur. Quo facilius autem videre ac judicare possent, quibus commodum est, auctores plerumque accurate indicavi, quos sequutus sum: quorum sententias si depravavi male nar-rando aut parum apte retuli, minus mihi, fateor, excusa-tionis erit, quam aliis hoc in genere peccantibus, quia omnes, quos testatus sum, ipse ante oculos habui, trac-tavi, legi, inter se contuli, alienæque fidei me committere nolui.

Note CCC. p. 202.

Tzschirner says of it: Ob aber gleich das *Schröckh'sche* Werk nicht frey von Mängeln ist und man in ihm, zwar richtige und feine Beurtheilung, aber doch keinen tiefen pragmatischen Geist, zwar eine zweckmässige zusammensetzung, nicht aber eine kunstreiche Anordnung, zwar eine beyfallswerthe, nicht aber eine classische Dar-stellung findet, so trage ich doch nicht Bedenken, das oben über den Werth dieses Werkes ausgesprochene Urtheil zu wiederholen und ihm unter allen das Gantze der Kirchen-geschichte umfassenden Schriften den ersten Platz zuzu-gestehen. Es giebt kirchenhistorische Werke, welche an einzelnen Vollkommenheiten das *Schröckh'sche* bey weitem übertreffen; vereiniget aber werden in keinem so viele Vorzüge, wie in diesem, gefunden. Ueber Schröckh's Leben, S. 78, 79. And Stäudlin: Hier haben wir zum Glücke ein Werk erhalten, welches so viel verei-

nigte, als bisher noch in keiner andern Kirchenhistoire vereinigt war und welches im Gantzen das zugleich ausführlichste und lehrreichste war, das unser Zeitalter hervorgebracht hat. Geschichte und Literatur der Kirchengeschichte, S. 170.

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OF THE
WRITERS OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY,
FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE basis of the following Index is the list of the writers of Ecclesiastical History given by Fabricius, in the twelfth volume of his *Bibliotheca Græca* (pp. 176—186). I have increased it by inserting the articles which have since been noticed by the Walchs, Ritter, and Gieseler, and others which I have met with in my own studies. It is, I believe, the most extensive which has yet been published; but it is probably far from being complete.

The abbreviations employed are, A. for Anglican; Arm. Arminian; Ant. Antitrinitarian; D. English Dissenter; L. Lutheran; R. Reformed; R. C. Roman Catholic.

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